

DOCTORAL THESIS

Testing citizens models of assessment for citizenship education

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**Testing Citizens:
Models of Assessment for Citizenship Education**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

**School of Education
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This thesis is dedicated to:

My big sister, Liz Richardson.

Thank you for fighting so hard to stay with us in 2004.

When this endeavour was tough-going I only had to think of you to be inspired.

And

Anne and Les Richardson

If you want to know what good citizens are, look no further than them. Thanks always.

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Abstract

The notion of some kind of civic education providing a solution to English society's problems is nothing new and Citizenship Education is perceived as one means of addressing so-called social deficits. There are issues relating to curriculum delivery and training which have arisen from the decision to make citizenship a mandatory subject in maintained secondary schools. Citizenship presents a challenge because it is not a 'conventional' subject and teachers have to construct meaningful assessments which relate to discussions of beliefs and values. Philosophical and sociological literatures inform the conceptual analysis of definitions of citizenship. Insights into more recent policy and provision are provided through a discussion of curriculum development and interrogation of assessment documentation from awarding bodies and policy-making organisations. An empirical study aimed to construct a picture of delivery in schools. It employed a multiple-method approach: a questionnaire was used to survey 400 secondary schools across England; and interviews were conducted with pupils (in years 9-11) and teachers in 18 schools. The data were analysed using both quantitative (descriptive and univariate statistics) and qualitative (Successive Approximation and Ideal Type) methodologies.

The findings suggest that the way in which citizenship is delivered has an effect upon the means by which it is assessed and has some impact upon the way that the subject is valued. Some teachers were reluctant to use unfamiliar modes of assessment, particularly formative methods which did not result in a grade, because pupils were sceptical of the value of any subject which does not provide a 'final' mark. This underlines the fact that assessment is the dominant force in contemporary education. The creation of Ideal Type teachers facilitated further investigation of relationships that teachers had with citizenship, its delivery and how they perceive pupil responses to the subject. Teachers require more resources (financial and time) to increase their assessment skills. The conclusion can be drawn that there is a significant need for more training and support for teachers in the assessment of citizenship. If citizenship is to succeed in its mission to effect a change in society, it needs to be taken seriously and a factor which militates against this aim is the lack of coherent framework of assessment.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The research story

Five years ago I¹ was sitting in a grade award meeting at the offices of one of the UK's awarding bodies. My job at the time was as a Senior Research Officer in their Department for Research and Statistics. The role usually involved research relating to assessment, but a major part of the job also involved providing statistical and technical information to grade award meetings twice a year. It was during one particular meeting (for a qualification in citizenship) that the first questions began to form in my mind about the construction and content of the qualifications related to the subject.

To set the scene, I will briefly explain the process of awarding because it is integral to my 'research story'. The purpose of grade awarding meetings is to judge what will be the appropriate marks for each grade awarded in an examination. A committee of examiners with particular subject expertise attend the meeting and judge the quality of examination scripts and coursework. Evidence from pupils is selected by the awarding body and this is based on the predicted marks for what are called the 'key grade boundaries' (for GCE and GCSE awards: Grades A, C and F). In addition to the pupils' work, the committee are provided with statistical data which includes predicted grades² the outcomes from previous series³ and any significant changes in the candidate entry⁴. All these data are important because they can have an impact on the final mark chosen for a particular grade. It is important that the awarding committee isn't unduly lenient or unduly harsh in their decisions because essentially, the process of awarding is about the maintaining of standards. The crux of the process is to decide which marks are worthy of which grades and it is, by nature, a very subjective process and there is little evidence to suggest that examiners can really be sure that a mark of 68 is worth an A and a mark of 67 *not* worth the same grade (Baird *et al*, 2004; Suto and Greateorex, 2005). Once the committee is agreed upon the marks, they are presented to the directorate of the awarding body who scrutinise the evidence and outcomes of the meeting and either approve or amend them.

What is really important in the context of this research is what actually happens well before an awarding meeting; it is the decisions which are made about the specification content which later evolve into coursework and/or exam scripts which then materialise as the 'evidence' for awarding. I was intrigued that citizenship specifications seemed confined to written examination papers and a limited amount of coursework which appeared to be largely focussed upon narrow, legal definitions of the concept.

The coursework projects which were presented to the awarding meetings did not appear to be convincing evidence of citizenship practice as a thought-provoking and vibrant addition to the pupils' education. Projects did not seem dynamic or appealing reflections of what citizenship could, or indeed should be. Undoubtedly, the work that received high marks (A or B) was well-executed, competently answered and in one or two cases, creatively presented, but none of it seemed to encapsulate the active, participatory nature of citizenship and this troubled me. I was under the impression, having followed the introduction of citizenship with some interest, that it was a participatory and engaging subject. What I saw in awarding meetings looked like tests of GCSE Law combined with some Sociology, History and General Studies.

Whilst the examiners were engaged in the scrutiny task, I spent time reading some of the scripts and considering the content of the question papers. After the first meeting, I had an informal discussion with some of the examiners and asked about their opinions regarding the following:

- The success of introducing an examination in citizenship;
- The value of having high-stakes examinations available for citizenship; and
- What that qualification might mean: to the pupil, their parent, peers and the wider-world.

There was a general consensus amongst the examiners that due to the statutory nature of the subject, it was likely that awarding bodies would see a continued increase in candidate entries for citizenship. Examiners suggested that if pupils engaged well with the subject, it seemed obvious

that they would wish to take an examination at the end of Key Stage 4 and have ‘something to show’, that is a nationally recognised qualification, for their work.

A year later, I was assigned to award not only the same award again, but also the new GCSE short course, and this time I wondered whether the evidence this year would confirm my concerns about the content of assessments leading to qualifications. The content of GCSE coursework that was presented in awarding meetings also revealed that pupils were following a narrow directive and they were choosing, or being advised to undertake, coursework projects which reflected a very minimal perception of citizenship. Admittedly, my first viewing of coursework was only the second awarding of the GCSE short course and therefore, it was still a time of experimentation on the part of teachers and an equally testing time for the awarding body when judgements had to be made with just one set of data with which to make comparisons. However, the question still arose in my mind “What is it that we are testing here?” and “Can we really test citizenship?” My attitude was, at that time, very similar to some of the teachers who participated in this study (see Chapter 6) who are unsure about whether we should be testing citizenship at all.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Few studies have attempted to investigate the process of assessing citizenship and this is not wholly unexpected given that the subject is a relative newcomer to the National Curriculum in England. Since its introduction in 2002, most research in the field has focused upon aspects of curriculum content, for example, discussions about the efficacy of citizenship as a subject (McLaughlin, 2000; Faulks, 2000; Menter *et al*, 2000) or the delivery of the curriculum (Leighton, 2004; Faulks, 2006; Kerr *et al*, 1999, 2003b, 2004, 2007).

It is relatively easy to identify the tensions that might be inherent in the assessment of citizenship education because as the literature discussed in Chapter 3 demonstrates, development of assessment for new subjects is not a straightforward process. It is dependent upon how teachers

translate policy guidelines and then decide to deliver assessment. There appear to be various schools of thought regarding assessment of citizenship and I have discussed these later (Chapter 6) using ideal-type teachers. The ‘types’ include those who are reluctant to let assessment affect citizenship; teachers who simply toe the education line and assess as required; and, in contrast, those who feel it is imperative to provide an assessment for citizenship to ensure it is a valued part of the school curriculum. There is a further assumption that citizenship assessments might be perceived as a measure of the person and this is a thorny issue. However, to conclude that poor grade equals poor citizen unmasks a rather naïve and misinformed view of assessment and attributes little value, if any, to the effort of the pupils (Kerr, 2002a).

Initially, the questions I wanted to answer regarding citizenship assessments were pupil-focused. I wanted to know what made a pupil choose to take an examination in citizenship and what they thought of the assessments that they had experienced. However, as the ideas for the research evolved I realised that both the teacher *and* the pupil are at the centre of my enquiry because further questions which arose from the experiences in the meetings and my discussions with examiners began to consider wider issues. For example:

Were pupils taking the qualification because they had been obliged to study the subject?
Have pupils viewed citizenship as an ‘easier’ subject? Particularly as the specifications on offer are short course GCSE and AS Level, both considered ‘half-measures’⁵
Do schools encourage pupils to enter citizenship examinations so that they can log this as evidence of engagement with the subject?

The objectives of citizenship education outlined by the Department for Education and Skills (2000b) are described as follows:

“Around age 14, most pupils will be able to:
Understand the role of the media in informing the public and shaping public opinion.
Show awareness and understanding of current affairs.
Understand what makes society change.
Get involved in the life of the school and the community.
Behave responsibly towards themselves and others.”

I would argue that all of the objectives quoted above are essential education for all individuals. They relate to the actuality and sense of being a person; a person who functions within a society and thus within the wider world. The government believes citizenship to be of value because it has been made a part of the statutory curriculum for pupils in secondary schools. It is their wish that citizenship education will produce a substantive change in public behaviour for example improving the ways in which people interact as a community, an increased interest in democratic participation and development of a more cohesive society (QCA, 1998).

It has been argued that citizenship is not suited to assessment, but this attitude is challenged. As Breslin (2001) notes, the only obstacle assessment of citizenship presents to awarding bodies, teachers and pupils is a need for creativity. If schools are allowed to be creative with their assessments and pupils can be persuaded that these methods are appropriate for citizenship, it is likely that the subject will be highly valued.

1.3. The research questions

The questions which had arisen in the awarding meetings were revisited and reconstructed as the review of the literature (see Chapters 2 and 3) progressed and resulted in the creation of the following five questions:

- a) How is the citizenship curriculum for secondary education in England assessed?
- b) What is the rationale for assessment of citizenship education in secondary schools?
- c) What is the rationale for the modes of assessment currently used for citizenship?
- d) How is assessment of citizenship perceived and valued by its primary users – teachers and pupils?
- e) What impact does assessment have upon the implementation of citizenship within a school's curriculum?

1.4. Aims of the study

The purpose of this study is to investigate teachers' and pupils' perceptions and experience of learning about citizenship and the assessments of that learning in order to provide some insights into the value they attribute to the subject. The study also seeks to examine the ways in which

teachers plan and deliver assessments and the extent to which their approaches impact upon the implementation of citizenship within a school's curriculum.

1.5. The empirical study

The research focuses on the experience of nineteen teachers of citizenship and 58 pupils in eighteen schools across England together with the responses to a questionnaire survey (returned by 117 teachers and 218 pupils) with the aim of exploring their attitudes and perceptions of citizenship and its assessment. The findings and recommendations are limited in their generic relevance and the results should not be treated as a definitive, generalisable set of data; rather, they provide suggestions and ideas about what these particular teachers and pupils experienced and how they recounted and discussed this with the researcher.

1.5. The structure of the thesis

The thesis is presented in three sections. The first section (Chapters 1, 2 and 3) contextualises the research and introduces the relevant literature in the fields of citizenship and assessment, identifying the key issues which contribute to the understanding of how citizenship became a foundation subject and, consequently, how its curriculum was created and delivered. In the second part (Chapters 4-8) I discuss and justify the research approach and the methodologies employed in the empirical study followed by the presentation of the results of the questionnaire survey and school-based interviews. The third section (Chapters 9-10) presents the discussions arising from the data and considers their relevance to policy and practice. Finally, concluding remarks and recommendations are made for enhancing assessment of citizenship in secondary schools together with personal reflections upon the process of the research.

CHAPTER 2. CITIZENSHIP

2.1. What is citizenship?

Citizenship is continually debated both as a concept and as a focus for education. There is a wealth of literature that discusses the key debates in England and much of this has recently been summarised in Osler and Starkey's (2006) definitive review of research, policy and practice. Education for citizenship is the focus of several longitudinal studies including the National Foundation for Educational Research's review (see, Kerr *et al*, 1999; 2002; 2003 a b c; 2004; 2005; 2007) and regular reviews by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA, 1999; 2000; 2002a; 2006; 2007), OFSTED (2002; 2005; 2006) and more recently, the House of Commons Select Committee Report (2007). The NFER reviews of the implementation of citizenship in English schools are also part of an international civic study (see below) and the results, together with research from the Evidence for Public Policy Practice Co-ordinating Centre (EPPI) Reviews of citizenship education (Deakin-Crick, 2004; 2005) provide a wide range of perspectives discussing current provision in England.

However, the evolution of a national programme of citizenship education is not unique to England and, as this literature review will show, many countries believe that citizenship is an important, and often vital, part of their educational provision. The content, delivery and development of similar programmes around the world have been evaluated through other longitudinal studies. The International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (see, Torney-Purta *et al*, 1999; Kerr *et al*, 2002b; Steiner-Khamisi *et al*, 2002) compares citizenship provision in 28 countries and the Eurydice Comparative Study (2005) outlines practice in Europe. The studies reveal common findings, both at national and international levels: citizenship is a difficult concept to describe and it can be a difficult subject to deliver. These problems with citizenship are due to many factors which will be outlined and discussed through this review.

Cogan and Derricott (2000) claim that globally, it is more likely that schools will deliver citizenship in a cross-curricular way, that is, through the teaching of other subjects such as history, religious studies or general studies. They note that globally, the curriculum content follows a structure which is often focused upon

(d)eveloping knowledge of how government and other institutions in any given state work, of the rights and duties of citizens with respect to the state and to the society as a whole, and towards the development of a sense of national identity (*ibid*, 2000:1).

Whilst this framework for a curriculum appears ‘fit for purpose’, critics argue it is not *globally* appropriate (Dower and Williams, 1999); the focus of such a model is state-centric and encourages deference in the individual. The tensions which are inherent in a liberal, democratic model of citizenship will be discussed in this chapter with the aim of understanding just why an education for citizenship might be valuable to both the state and the individual.

A more complete conception of citizenship, argue Pattie *et al* (2004), has to reach beyond the individual’s nation state because Western democracies are a part of a global culture which has developed through international trade and travel. But with such changes, there is an increased concern about issues such as mass migration and the perceived threat of global terrorism since the attacks of 9/11 in the USA and 7/7 in England (Osler and Starkey, 2006). There is a discernible need to understand what citizenship really *means*:

A surge of interest in both the theory and parameters of citizenship which reflects the impact of a series of trends: globalisation, mass migration and changes to human rights (Dower and Williams, 1999:15).

It could be argued that the contested nature of citizenship is having an impact upon the way in which citizenship, the subject, is both presented and perceived in maintained secondary schools in England⁶. This chapter brings together some of the literature of citizenship and includes a discussion of the conceptual notions of citizenship, the historical context and the educational provision. The context and meaning of citizenship are discussed and critically reviewed in light of their relevance to the themes of this research: the development of citizenship as a subject; its

assessment; and the ways in which pupils and teachers value the subject with reference to the assessments. The theory of curriculum development is also discussed in order to review the reasons for the introduction, in 2002, of citizenship as a National Curriculum foundation subject. A discussion of some of the contentious issues related to the citizenship curriculum concludes the chapter.

2.1.1. The concept of citizenship

Significant changes are taking place in Britain in the relationship between citizen and the state (Pattie *et al*, 2004:1). There is concern about changes in society which are perceived as a threat to democracy and which have negatively influenced the public understanding of citizenship:

Precisely because symbolic and material resources and social position are unevenly distributed, citizenship is one of the most contested ideas in social policy (Lewis, 2004:10).

Citizenship is not only a contested *concept*; it is also a contested *subject* in state-maintained secondary schools (Gearon, 2003a; Andrews and Mycock, 2007; Kerr *et al*, 2007). Research by Davies (1999) found some 300 definitions of citizenship within educational contexts and, as much of the wide-ranging literature of citizenship demonstrates, the notion of citizenship is influenced by social, political and environmental factors and consequently, its meaning is debated and disputed (Rowe, 1996; Sears and Hughes, 1996; Heater, 1999, 2004, 2005; Lawson, 2001; Gearon, 2003b; Kerr, 2003c, 2005; Deakin Crick, 2004, 2005). However, the only consensus regarding an actual definition of citizenship appears to be the difficulty inherent in defining its meaning (McLaughlin, 1992, 2000; Turner, 1994; Low, 1997; Gearon, 2003a; Kerr, 2003a; Calogiannakis, 2004; Osler and Starkey, 2006).

Carr (1991) argues that rather than attempting to pin down a singular definition of citizenship, perhaps it is more realistic to accept that it is a metamorphic concept and its definition must be

viewed as a perpetual ‘work-in-progress’ and something in need of regular reviewing. It could be that striving to find a definition is actually *detrimental* to our understanding of citizenship:

One should not assume that one knows what citizenship is, but rather treat it as an essentially contested concept. Many studies of citizenship result in vacuous tautologies or restatements of unexamined ideological positions precisely because they assume that we must begin by defining what it is. They obscure the fact that notions and practices of citizenship are variable and conflicting (Carr, 1991:373).

If a single, unambiguous and universal definition of citizenship is not achievable then perhaps it must be accepted as a dynamic state within which one’s rights, duties and participation change according to “social transitions on both local and global scales” (Law, 2006:600).

Whilst it is difficult to define citizenship, there are some useful frameworks which help us to consider its key constituents particularly in an educational context (Faulks, 2000; Swift 2006). It is Crick’s (2004, foreword in Heater) “four meanings” which provides a useful summary framework that is applicable to this research. He considers the following rights and beliefs to be key constituents:

- (a) A subject’s rights and duties to be recognised as the legal inhabitant of a state, a citizen identity.
- (b) The belief in civic republicanism⁷ the inhabitants of a country or state will be active citizens rather than just ‘good’ subjects.
- (c) An understanding of global citizenship: international contexts, to be citizens of one world.
- (d) An educational process: through a carefully devised programme of teaching and learning it is possible to inculcate a culture which provides knowledge and understanding of (a) and the further develops points (b) and (c) above so that practice is enabled (*ibid*, 2004: foreword).

Components (a) to (c) in Crick’s model are central to the National Curriculum programmes of study for citizenship (QCA, 1999) and this is unsurprising as the recommendations for a citizenship curriculum were created by an Advisory Group for Citizenship led by Sir Bernard Crick⁸ (QCA, 1998). The Report suggested that three strands should comprise the foundation of the curriculum:

- Social and moral responsibility: an essential pre-condition for the other two strands;
- Community involvement: not limited solely to school; and
- Political literacy: knowledge and understanding at local, national and international levels.

(QCA, 1998: 40-41)

The strands outlined above and the resulting curriculum are discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter (see section 2.2.3.) where the curriculum is outlined. The content was determined by a lengthy period of research and deliberation about the meaning of citizenship, not just as a subject in schools, but how the learning outcomes of the subject could be translated into practice beyond the realm of school-based education (Huddleston and Kerr, 2006).

Citizenship is not a modern concept. Perhaps the most commonly referenced discussions of the development of citizenship are to be found in the work of Aristotle, and his analyses of the city state (*polis*) in ancient Greece (Brubaker 1992; Turner 1994; Heater 2004). Aristotle's writing presents the first systematic attempt to develop a workable theory of citizenship. His description of the *polis* reveals a hierarchical structure within which only selected individuals are enabled to attain citizenry within the context of the city state:

As soon as a man becomes entitled to participate in office, deliberative or judicial we deem him to be a citizen of that state; and a number of such persons large enough to secure a self-sufficient life, we may, by and large, call a state (Aristotle, 1275b13).

Whilst Aristotle argued that man was by nature a political being, this definition of 'man' did not extend to a significant proportion of populous in the city states which included women, slaves and children. Citizenship in the Greek *polis* was an exclusively male 'club' whose members were expected to demonstrate political responsibility and loyalty to the state and, through this could enjoy citizen rights. However, the Greek citizen was expected to put the state first, always at the expense of individual fulfilment (Heater, 2004).

The criteria for citizenship troubled Aristotle and a substantial part of *Politics III* is devoted to consideration of *who* deserved the title:

There remains still a question about the citizen. Is a citizen really one who has a chance to participate in offices, or are we to count mechanics too as citizens? If we do the latter, we give them the title citizen though they do not share in government, then the virtue of the citizen ceases to be that of every citizen (Aristotle, 1277b33).

The political tradition of the Greek city states founded a notion of citizenship that was highly exclusive and allowed a chosen few to control laws and decisions affecting other residents of the polis. This model was based upon a series of obligations whereas our modern conception of the idea is firmly planted within a rights-based context, but it is important argues Faulks (2000:14-15), to acknowledge that “modernist understandings of citizenship” were not created in a vacuum:

In reality, modern citizenship has built upon ancient and pre-modern ideas and therefore continuities as well as contrasts can be found in the history of citizenship (*ibid*: 15).

Thus, citizenship in ancient Greece represented both social status and legal rights; the foundation of which was built upon what Heater (2004:164) describes as a “persistent human social need” to belong. This model of citizenship describes a society within which the individual citizen could not separate his private life from his public duties and such a controlled form of citizenship appears now to be at odds with the modern conception where liberalism emphasises the rights of the individual as opposed to the demands of the state.

The meaning of citizenship in the Roman republic differed only slightly from the Greek model in that the individual received “legal status rather than political status based on participation giving the individual legal rights and immunities” (Pattie *et al*, 2004:7). This difference was important because it was possible for individuals to use their legal citizenship as a protective measure (Heater, 2004). However, whilst Roman citizens bore their citizenry with pride and enjoyed its privileges, this assisted the collapse of the Empire:

Pride wanes with the vulgarisation of privilege and is extinguished by the overshadowing of rights by duties (*ibid*: 19).

The expansion of the Roman Empire restricted the criteria for who could become a citizen and it was this which Faulks (2000) notes should make us question “whether a deep sense of citizenship is only possible in a relatively small-scale homogenous community such as existed in the Greek polis” (*ibid*: 20). The collapse of the Roman Empire saw citizenship fade as a political concept, but the ideal of individuals collectively influencing decision-making was evident in “the values and activities associated with the concept which survived in the medieval guilds and among the citizen soldiers who were periodically required to defend their cities” (Pattie *et al*, 2003:7).

In *The City*, Max Weber (1958) discusses the context of citizenship within the structure of Renaissance cities such as Florence and Venice and their contribution to the evolution of modern citizenship. From the twelfth century onwards citizenship was made possible through the creation of money-based economies and the industrial activity which saw the introduction of taxation which underpinned the construction of a new type of citizenship community (Faulks, 2000:21). In contrast, England and France were “becoming consolidated nation states” (Heater, 2004b:26), but were governed by a religiously-dominated monarchy – a rule of divine right - and, as Heater asks, “could citizenship exist in such states either in theory or in practice?” (*ibid*: 26). A significant ideological shift was required and it was through the development of liberalism that the concept of a rights-based model of citizenship evolved.

Contemporary models of citizenship are linked to the evolution of a liberal ideal where the individual is engaged in some kind of ‘contract’ with the state. The idea of the ‘social contract’ stems from a European tradition embodied in the work of political theorists such as Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. These theories, claims Swift (2006:26) created

(t)he tradition that thinks about social and political organisation as the outcome of an agreement between individuals who see that they will be better off under law than they would be in the state of nature.

This represents a shift from the subservience of feudalism to the re-emergence of the citizen-subject and a gradual development of an ideology concerned with the liberal tradition and its

protection of rights, of life and freedom. Hobbes was sceptical of participatory theories of citizenship and defended an ideal of sovereign power with subservient citizens, but his theories “lead directly to the more developed sense of citizenship found in political liberalism” (Faulks, 2000:22). Through Locke, and others, a rights-based theory of citizenship evolved and this is exemplified in Rousseau’s *Social Contract* (Crocker, 1967 translation). In order for citizenship to thrive, argued Rousseau, it is necessary to acknowledge, construct and maintain equality for all individuals. There is, he believed, a great difference between obedience to the law and being enslaved by it. Rousseau contended that a free people “obeys but does not serve, it has leaders but not masters; it obeys laws, but it obeys only the laws and it is due to the strength of the laws that it is not forced to obey men” (Boucher, 2004:240). Such fundamental questioning of entrenched beliefs about citizenship served to provide the foundations for a liberal conception of citizenship with the individual distinct from the state, but interacting within a political framework that is state-governed.

The evolution of democracy in England was notable in the decline of feudalism and the rise of ‘worker’ as an individual able to negotiate and effectively trade their skills. Thus, citizenship developed through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as part of a democratic political ideology which cultivated a shift from

(the) narrow citizen class of the well-educated and property owners to achievement of female emancipation, the lowering of the voting age and the opening up of processes of government (QCA, 1998:9).

The present conception of the citizen is based upon more inclusive and egalitarian ideals concerned with social rights and obligations; the “social forces” that produce such practices are underpinned by various social arrangements whereby benefits are distributed to different sectors of society (Turner, 1994:3). Thus, during the twentieth century, the development of a modern state based upon democratic principles and affording its citizens access to a comprehensive welfare state meant that citizenship was no longer just a political or legal ideal; it evolved to encompass a tradition of active participation on the part of the individual. Low (1997) proposes

that the contemporary English concept of citizenship is based upon a classical ideal that citizenship exists within a democratic, liberal nation-state, a concept underpinned by the tripartite model created by TH Marshall (1950). Marshall's rights-based model comprised civil, political and social rights which reflect the evolution of human rights during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is well-documented in Marshall and Bottomore (1992):

- Civil: a gradual increase in the legal rights of the individual (e.g. owning property or access to a fair trial);
- Political: greater political/democratic rights (enfranchisement; participation in government); and
- Social: access to state-managed social support (education, healthcare and welfare reforms).

There are, Turner (1994) argues, additional rights that could be added to Marshall's model, because it lacks strength in the reciprocity between rights and duties. The key component of modern citizenry is that of active participation because without this, citizenship is reduced to the individual beholden to the state as a benefactor and this, argues Lister (1997), is an impoverished model. It follows that in the context of education in particular, it is vital that pupils are afforded not just the information about *being* a citizen, but also the opportunity to *do*, to demonstrate citizenship skills.

2.1.2. The context of citizenship

The liberal tradition is "primarily concerned with the freedom and autonomy of individuals" (Swift, 2006:137) and critics argue that liberalism is not suited to the aims of citizenship, as the emphasis of liberalism upon individual freedom seems to "set it on a collision course with the value of community (*ibid*: 137). There are some 'hard line' approaches to liberalism, for example John Rawls's *Theory of Justice* (1971) where each citizen has two powers: interest in the formulation of and living a good life; and interest in exercising justice, being motivated by it and encouraging others to do the same (Martin, 2004). This model emphasises the value of the individual and balances this with their responsibility to others, but Rawls has been criticised for

being individualistic and, as Miller (1992:96) argues, to be a citizen requires active participation “as part of a collectivity”. This reflects what has been described as a *communitarian* approach:

What all communitarians hold in common, if and when they refer to the political sphere, is the advocacy of involvement in public life, increased participation in small communities, firms and clubs (Aveniri and de-Shalit, 1992:9).

My own beliefs about citizenship reside between the communitarian and liberal; specifically the citizen should be recognised as an individual with particular rights and needs, but they, in turn, are both cognisant of and active in their contribution/responsibility on local and global scales. This is well-expressed by Kymlicka (2002):

Citizenship is intimately linked to liberal ideas of individual rights and entitlement and to communitarian ideas of attachment and membership of a particular community (Kymlicka, 2002:284).

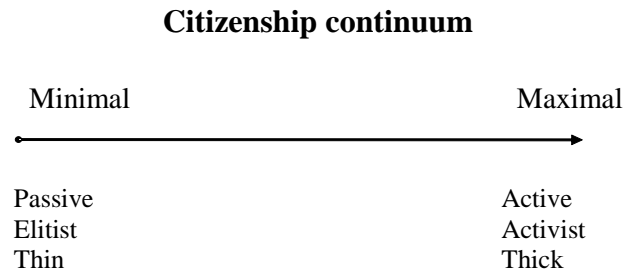
Whilst the latter should not override the rights of the individual (as in Ancient Greece), neither should the individual be a “free rider” (Kymlicka, 2002:300), i.e. make no contributions. However this balance is difficult to maintain. Kymlicka argues for citizen “decency” and “civility” (*ibid*: 300) in all aspects of one’s life, but concedes that these terms have long been confused with political correctness or good manners and therefore attempts to infuse such a concept are met with derision and opposition. For example, in 2005 the former opposition leader Michael Howard⁹ described citizenship as the ‘politically correct’ subject, condemning it as something that was unworthy of inclusion in the curriculum.

When embarking upon this research, a random selection of peers were casually questioned about ‘what being a citizen’ meant to them. This elicited responses such as: “the right to hold a passport”; “the right to participate in political activity (usually voting) in one’s country” and “being a nice person”. When pressed further, all of those asked said that there should be more to the concept of being a citizen than simply just voting, or indeed, just being a legally recognised member of a state. Some suggested that a citizen was a political being, a radical individual or protester; two people mentioned the television character from the 1970s sitcom Citizen Smith¹⁰.

Participatory or community interaction was also mentioned as a key feature of citizenship and the general feeling was that citizenship must involve an active element of some kind. The opinions of peers were primarily utilitarian: that is, citizens were obliged to do things for the greater good and in return would benefit from a series of rights bestowed by the state. But this is a weak model because as Miller (1992:96) claims, citizenship is not just the possession of rights, “it is also a matter of belief and behaviour”.

The continual debate about citizenship is fuelled in part because it *is* a complex subject and also because the different conceptions “exist along a complex continuum of opinion” (Sears and Hughes, 1996:125). McLaughlin (1992, 2000) presents a concept of citizenship examined from a philosophical standpoint which includes minimal and maximal notions at the extremes of a continuum. He identifies four aspects of citizenship: identity, virtues, political involvement and social prerequisites and he proposes that where an individual resides on the continuum is dependent upon her level of engagement with the aforementioned aspects. So, for example, at one end of the continuum, the minimal could be readily described as someone who is a citizen: “seen merely in formal, legal and juridical terms” (McLaughlin, 1992:236). Simply existing as a citizen is a minimal expression of citizenship because the individual does not necessarily engage in any part of public life; rather she is known to be a citizen of a state simply through birth or naturalisation processes. A minimal concept is characterised by what Kerr (2002b) describes as “a narrow definition of citizenship”; an elitist, exclusive interpretation. This is shown in Figure 2.1 (below) where Kerr’s (2002b), Clarke’s (1996) and McLaughlin’s (1992) examples are used to construct a continuum.

Figure 2.1. Continuum



Minimal citizenship can be recognised as relating to apathy on the part of the individual as distinct from individuals who have the legal status of citizen, but due to discrimination, are denied full citizenship rights in practice (Clarke 1996, Heater, 2005). These so-called ‘second-class’ citizens inhabit such an impoverished environment that they are “excluded from the normal types of social and political activity which the term citizen connotes” (Heater, 2005:87). Minimal citizenship is sometimes described as “passive” (Clarke, 1996:46), but it is crucial to distinguish between those who *choose* not to engage in active citizenship and those who, through no fault of their own, are excluded from such engagement (Davies, 1998).

At the opposite end of the citizenship continuum is the maximal model which requires more from the citizen; she must actually demonstrate that she is conscious of what it *means* to be a citizen (McLaughlin, 1992). The maximal interpretation describes an individual who understands that membership of a community involves responsibilities and obligations *as well as* rights and an understanding of the ways in which social disadvantage can weaken a sense of citizenship. This is what Clarke (1996) terms “deep” citizenship:

To be a deep citizen is to participate both in the operation of one’s own life and in some of its parameters; to be conscious of acting in and into a world shared with others. To be conscious that the identity of the self and the identity of others is co-related and co-creative; while also opening up to the possibility of both engagement in, and enchantment with, the world (Clarke, 1996:6).

Both McLaughlin’s and Clarke’s maximum/deep interpretations of the strongest model of citizenship reflect what Kymlicka (2002) describes as a “deliberative” form of democracy where

individuals take a genuine interest in collective decision making with the aim of perpetuating a greater collective responsibility. The density analogy is given an alternative perspective by Faulks (2000; 2006) who argues that the liberal perception of citizenship is simply too *thin* to be a sustainable model. He contends that the modern concept of citizenship is influenced by the political ideals which were prevalent in the latter part of the twentieth century; principally a market economy which identified the citizen as an independent operator. Such a model suggests that the rights which citizens enjoy might be dependent upon or dictated by a person (or organisation) with more than the interests of the individual at heart.

Low (1997) argues that the minimal and maximal conceptions are a method of framing one's existence, but when a minimal model is employed it fails to enrich an individual's life. This passive approach to citizenry is "premised on the very idea of a distinction between the public and private realms" (Low, 1997:677); thus, citizenship guarantees the individual protection from the state, but the state expects little more than compliance. This is a dangerous principle because rather than empowering the individual, a conception based upon negotiating limited rights in return for compliant behaviour actually constrains the individual. Heater (2004) emphasises the importance of recognising the attempted *misuse* of citizenship:

Governments and especially right-wing governments, are naturally prone to define good citizenship as deferent and supportive behaviour towards the government in office. It is at least a definition which makes a citizen's task easy: understand what the government wants and uphold it in the implementation of its policies (Heater, 2004:205).

Heater's argument emphasises the right-wing government as being more 'prone' to promote a deferent model of citizenship, but this is just as likely within a liberal state. It is very difficult for a state to remain neutral in a purely liberal sense because: "Whenever the state promotes, or discourages, particular ways of life, it is not acting neutrally" (Swift, 2006:155). Despite espousing a commitment to individual freedom, it could be argued that in making citizenship a statutory subject in schools, New Labour in Britain is encouraging a *specific* way of living, of

being a particular 'right' type of citizen. However, Heater (2004) clarifies his argument by stating that such a dominant model of citizenship is a significant contradiction because

(a) citizen by very nature of his status is an autonomous person. Neither subject nor serf, he is vested with the responsibility of using his sense of right and his political judgement (*ibid*: 205).

In an educational context, citizenship should not be presented as a passive notion; rather it should be focused on an aim which fosters understanding of the pupils' status and their evolving role in society (Enslin and White, 2003). In arguing that schools are developing skills such as political judgement, community values and active citizenry, there is an assumption that they are equipped to do so. Kymlicka (2002) cautions that

(t)here is nothing intrinsic to schooling that guarantees that it will do any better than families or the church in promoting political virtues (*ibid*: 307).

Schools have the luxury of teaching 'civility' through both an explicit and implicit curricula which is delivered to pupils who, in the state sector, hail from a range of cultures, religious denominations, etc. and who coexist within the school environment. Recognition of these differences is vital in the promotion of citizenship and schooling can contribute to this, as Callan (1997) claims:

The essential demand is that schooling properly involves, at some stage, sympathetic and critical engagement with beliefs and ways of life at odds with the culture of the family or religious or ethnic group into which the child was born (*ibid*: 133).

Thus, the creation of a free-thinking society comprising autonomous individuals, if indeed that is what a government is striving for, requires the implementation of an educational procedure that assists people in this endeavour. An education for citizenship is one way to do this, but the content of such an education requires careful consideration and it is not straightforward to teach. For example, a survey of teachers' understanding of citizenship conducted by Davies *et al* (1999) found that there was a tendency amongst participants to consider pupils who were obedient to authority as 'better' citizens than their less compliant peers. It should be noted that Davies *et al*'s study was conducted before citizenship was introduced into the National Curriculum and such

attitudes are less evident in the more recent research conducted by Kerr *et al* (2002; 2007). Nevertheless, it was expected that the introduction of citizenship to English state-maintained schools would be problematical because a national approach was uncharted territory (QCA, 1998). However, the premise that creating an education for citizenship might be difficult was overshadowed by the need for

(n)o less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing and able and equipped to have an influence in public life (QCA, 1998:7).

The quotation above comes from what is probably the most frequently quoted section of The Crick Report (QCA, 1998), but it provides a telling summary of the Advisory Group's aspirations and most importantly, marks a significant shift in the perception of citizenship from a passive, static model to something which is further along the continuum towards the active and maximal.

2.1.3. Citizenship and Identity

At its most basic level, citizenship can be viewed simply as "a sense of identity" (Cogan and Derricott, 2000:3). As such, it is often defined in national terms, but not always because personal identity is influenced by a range of factors. It is important to be mindful of the ambiguity in the way that the term citizenship can be used with regard to identity. It can refer to a legal status, but also to what Falk (1999:21) describes as "psycho-political linkages arising from patterns of aspiration or belief" based upon assumptions made by individuals about membership of a particular state. Falk is alluding to the complex nature of how we define ourselves as individuals but how we are simultaneously concerned about our role within a collective identity. The concept of identity is nebulous and this makes it difficult to state emphatically that citizenship embodies a personal or national identity. Huntington (2002) unpacks some of the complexity:

People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations and at the broadest level, civilisations. People use politics not just to advance their interests, but also to define their identity. We know who we are only when we know who we are not (*ibid* :21).

Huntington also stresses the importance of politics as a means of underpinning identity and introduces a further point which is vital to the understanding of citizenship: the differences which are inherent in civilisations across the globe.

Whilst all of the issues cited above are recognisable and relevant to contemporary England, it is public understanding and knowledge of citizenship that has changed. As citizenship has become part of the National Curriculum, so it has become the 'property' of the tax payer. It is therefore difficult to avoid discussions of citizenship in the mass media, and in particular, the way it has been linked to national identity with the focus upon what it means to be British. A compelling discussion of the on-going debates regarding the meaning of 'Britishness' is presented by Bragg (2006) who believes it to be a term which is fast becoming synonymous with citizenship. He proposes that "(m)ost people assume that Britishness is a mixture of fairness, tolerance and, above all, decency" (Bragg, 2006:260). This idea of 'decency' is comparable to Kymlicka's (2002) notion of citizen 'civility' and Bragg notes that we are indignant when we see others failing to adopt these standards.

Britishness and the meaning of citizenship have been widely discussed in the popular news press (Hackett, 2005; Paton and Lightfoot, 2007; Saner, 2007). The debate about Britishness includes concern about the dilution of British culture and the loss of so-called British traditions. The opening of borders across Europe has seen a significant increase in levels of immigration into England¹¹ and there has been a consistent news media discussion regarding how best to retain our sense of who the British citizen really is. As Woodward *et al* (2007:13) argue, the Government are acutely aware of a need for citizens to be aware of "those values that define what it means to be British". However, regardless of the continual discussion devoted to the topic there is little conclusive evidence of what being a British citizen might mean (Hunt, 2007).

The continual discussion about Britishness is of concern, particularly within the education sector. In 2007, the DfES's report *Diversity and Citizenship* (commonly known as the 'Ajegbo Report') argued that the ever-changing cultural and political perspective of England underlines the need for more emphasis on education for citizenship because

(t)he term 'British' means different things to different people. In addition, identities are typically constructed as multiple and plural. Throughout our consultations, concerns were expressed, however, about defining 'Britishness', about the term's divisiveness and how it can be used to exclude others (DfES, 2007:10).

Effecting lasting change is not an easy task to undertake and this was acknowledged in the Report. Those responsible for including education about Britishness should recognise that constructing a meaning for this term is fraught with tension because without care, it can become narrow and ill-defined (Breslin *et al*, 2006). Stronger concerns have been raised by a group of academics calling themselves 'The History Practitioner's Advisory Team' (HPAT). In May 2007, HPAT published a report which criticised the use of citizenship as a means of teaching school pupils about Britishness; this aim, they claim, is much better served by teaching through a strong programme of history. Through the use of what they term narrative British history, it is possible to

(h)elp pupils to see what has been characteristic in Britain's culture and political and constitutional principles and which aspects have survived – and which are under threat – in the modern age (HPAT, 2007:13).

Whilst it would be easy to criticise HPAT's fundamentally negative perception of the value of citizenship as a subject¹², it is possible to appreciate the expertise that a subject specialist can bring to delivery of the historical contexts of citizenship. If, as Ajegbo (DfES, 2007) claims, it is the role of citizenship to provide an education which promotes development of identity, then this has serious implications for the subject. Menter and Walker (2000) noted that an individual's understanding of their personal identity and the identities of those around them is crucial for the development of tolerance. The contribution that schools can make is significant:

Educators are concerned not just with national identity, but with individual identity. The school curriculum may play a major part in identity formation and

the way in which citizenship is defined within the curriculum has a very significant implication for the developing identity of each child (*ibid*: 109).

It is difficult to ascribe definitive changes in citizenship behaviours to the compulsory teaching of citizenship in our schools because the subject is relatively young, but much of the current research from the NfER and similar studies reveals how the practical issues of curriculum design, implementation, teaching methods and other policy issues are being managed and what this means for citizenship as a subject. In the next sections the notion of education for citizenship will be discussed together with the evolution of the citizenship curriculum.

2.2. How do we educate for citizenship?

Claims have been made that there is a lack of knowledge or understanding of citizenship within the general population (Benn, 1997). The Commission on Citizenship (1990) found that the term citizenship was not in common use in English schools and even where it did exist, there was widespread confusion regarding its meaning. In 1990, attempts to increase the breadth of the National Curriculum were presented to schools in the form of additional, non-statutory cross-curricular themes¹³ one of which was citizenship. The themes were not a tempting proposition for teachers and the ‘working’ definition of citizenship did nothing to encourage active engagement with the subject:

Education for citizenship involves discussing controversial issues upon which there is no clear consensus (National Curriculum Council, 1990:1).

It is perhaps unsurprising that the cross-curricular theme for citizenship was poorly used because the idea of trying to teach controversial issues is not one which was popular with teachers (Goodall, 1993). In any case, it has been claimed that the cross-curricular themes “for the most part, became consigned to the bookshelf” (Adams and Calvert, 2005:4).

In 2002, citizenship re-entered English state education with renewed vigour. The emergence of prescribed citizenship education is often perceived as a response to significant social problems (Faulks, 2000; Heater, 2004b; Pattie *et al*, 2004) and, as Osler and Starkey (2006:8) claim, a way to deal at a national level with a social “deficit” in young people. Historically, political disengagement, social unrest and the movement of peoples are all issues which can result in the “injecting of elements of citizenship into school curricula” (Brett, 2005:12). Political apathy increases what Best (2003:16) refers to as a sense of “moral panic” amongst politicians and concern about voting patterns or social unrest act as triggers for policy change. Thus, the introduction of citizenship education in England was precipitated by four concerns:

- identity confusion;
- disengagement with public life;
- political apathy amongst the young; and
- a breakdown in social values (DfES, 2004:NP).

All of the above concerns relate to Crick’s (in Heater, 2004) fourfold summary of citizenship. Thus, the aim of citizenship education for England was to both address and challenge these issues, but also to inculcate an alternative culture: one which embraces change and encourages young people to feel confident in their self-identity, to re-engage with public life in both social and political contexts. The notion of some kind of civic education providing a solution to the ills of English society is nothing new (Greenwood and Robins, 2002) and ideas for developing citizenship skills are evident in a range of sources both in and out of school. Two comprehensive accounts of the history of citizenship education in England are provided by Batho (1990) and Heater (2001) and both document the journey of citizenship through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These accounts of the content of citizenship education in the past resonate with the modern curriculum. On the part of the Government there was a quest for political literacy which followed increased enfranchisement from the Reform Act of 1832, through to mass enfranchisement in the twentieth century. It was believed that a civic education would aid “the preparation of young people for participation in a democratic polity” (Heater, 2001:106).

However, some educational reformers cautioned against indoctrination of the working classes through the teaching of citizenship. For example, Batho (1990:92) argued that “a school curriculum should not inculcate submission and obedience in working class children”. The concern about submission has been a continual issue due to what Crick (2000) describes as a British culture of deference which has meant that citizenship has referred more to ‘being a good’ rather than an ‘active’ member of society. The educational content of the modern citizenship curriculum claims to be underpinned by activity and participation (see QCA, 1999; Huddleston and Kerr, 2006).

The arguments for a moral education for citizenship became stronger in the twentieth century (Aldrich, 2000) and the perception of the child as a citizen-in-waiting (Verhellen, 2000) appeared in ministerial reports. In 1912, the Government stated that a teacher’s role was:

To prepare the child for the life of a good citizen, to create or foster the aptitude for work and for the intelligent use of leisure, and to develop those features of character which are most readily influenced by school life, such as loyalty to comrades, loyalty to institutions, unselfishness and an orderly and disciplined habit of mind (Ministry of Education, 1912).

The evolving idea of a civic education which focused upon community and ‘loyalty to institutions’ was entertained cautiously during the 1920s and 1930s¹⁴ (Batho, 1990). Whilst the British Government wished to encourage a culture of political understanding and public involvement in the democratic process, there was also a growing fear about the rise of totalitarianism in opposition to democracy. Concerns were expressed that citizenship education might have a negative influence upon the young and that they could be ‘brainwashed’ by teachers (Grosvenor and Lawn, 2004). From 1934 onwards, the Association for Education of Citizenship (AEC) urged for “training in the duties of citizenship” (AEC, 1935: introduction). This demand was supported by the Government who expressed a growing concern about a so-called “decay of democracy” (Ministry of Education, 1935). Following the Second World War, the reforms resulting from the 1944 Education Act began to take effect and the idea of citizenship was proposed once more:

In a democratic community we must all take a share in preparing our young people or the responsibilities of active citizenship (Ministry for Education and Work, 1949: i).

Unlike the proposals of 1935 (see above), the proposals for citizenship education in 1949 refer to a “democratic community”, thus indicating a shift of responsibility from the school to the wider community. Just as the state had increased its responsibility for educational provision during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the idea that citizenship be included in the curriculum suggested a *national* responsibility and was evidence of a maturing education system (McCulloch, 1994). As Heater (2002) concurs, some kind of education is required to afford an understanding of what it means to be a citizen:

To become a citizen in the true sense requires competence and competence is acquired through a process of education (*ibid*, 2002:154).

Following the publication of the White Paper, *Excellence in Schools* (DfEE, 1997), the decision was taken to make citizenship a statutory component of the National Curriculum in England. The suggestion by Kerr (2003a) that citizenship education has remained high on political and educational agendas is not necessarily well supported by evidence, (see for example Wilkins, 2000; Heater, 2001). Instead of maintaining a pole position, citizenship underwent a “partial eclipse” (Batho, 1990:97) and during the 1960s and 1970s became subsumed within social sciences. It was not until the 1990s that citizenship again rose to any significance within school curricula.

The emergence of citizenship coincided with a time of constitutional reform in England (Gearon, 2003; Osler and Starkey, 2006). The devolution of centralised power to create a Welsh Assembly and a Scottish Parliament reinforced issues of identity and the implementation of the Human Rights Act in 1998 were both significant for citizenship and feature in the programmes of study (National Curriculum Online, 2005). Not only do significant events in society impact upon legislation, the ‘trickledown effect’ can, and does, bring about changes in school curricula:

The internal affairs and external relations of curriculum change point to a socio-historical or more specifically, a political process at work. Placing the internal and external together often leads to evolutionary or historical models of political action which mediate aspects of the structure of the educational system (Goodson, 2005:87).

The call for an Advisory Group to investigate the need for citizenship education was a response to the poor voter turn-out in the general elections of 1992 and 1997¹⁵ and a growing concern about anti-social behaviour, recognised by the reactions in London and nationally, to the violent murders of teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and in 1995, of the headmaster Philip Lawrence (Menter and Walker, 2000).

2.2.1. Citizenship and curriculum

It is important, in the context of this research, to understand some the issues and to acknowledge the complexity of developing new curricula (Edwards and Fogelman, 1993; Goodson, 1995; Schiro, 2008). It is also valuable to understand which aspects of curriculum development have impacted upon citizenship and how this is relevant to the goals of this research. Otherwise it could be construed that there are no connections between curriculum development, issues surrounding the understanding of citizenship and the assessment of the subject, whereas in reality, the three are inextricably linked.

Like citizenship, defining what is meant by curriculum is a notoriously difficult task (McKernan, 2008). Early conceptions of school curricula were little more than a 'collection' of subjects to be taught (McCulloch, 1987; Aldrich, 1998; Parsons, 1999). In contrast, the National Curriculum for citizenship includes: schemes of work; information for teachers, pupils and parents; attainment targets; assessments; *and* subject information. However, as Peters (1966) argued, curricula are concerned with knowledge, values and skills which have been planned by a school or college. Thus, a valuable curriculum is underpinned by the intention of teachers to initiate pupils into

worthwhile activities in a morally appropriate manner. Thus, a balanced curriculum should support both education and training, and in doing so, requires appropriate modes of delivery.

There are two models of delivery which are commonly used within an educational context: an Objectives-based model and a Process-based model (Stenhouse, 1987; McKernan, 2008). These models require different techniques in planning, delivery and pedagogy. The Objectives-based model is a systematic approach which has the ultimate goal of effecting a change in pupils based upon set objectives/criteria for learning (Parsons, 1980). It is a method that is suited to a prescribed curriculum, for example, the National Curriculum for citizenship in England requires that pupils acquire:

- Knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens.
- Skills of enquiry and communication.
- Skills of participation and responsible action.

(QCA, 1999:6)

In the articulation of these objectives for learning, specific goals for learning are presented. Pupils are judged upon how well they achieve each of the goals by means of attainment targets which are assessed (see Appendix B). Thus, clear objectives are established and in order to ‘succeed’ in citizenship, pupils need to meet criteria at a particular level. This does not mean that the delivery has to be unchallenging; rather, as Parsons (1980:169) argues, objectives should be “framed in terms of discovering ideas, mastering skills and developing attitudes”. The objectives-based model has been criticised for its prescription and the assumption that practice can be improved “by increasing clarity about ends [of education]” (Stenhouse, 1987:83). Teachers have fewer opportunities to manipulate a curriculum which is based upon this model because it is designed to move towards a particular end irrespective of the differing needs of individual teachers and their pupils. And as McKernan (2008) argues, an objectives model is more suited to training for specific ends rather than education *per se*. For example, learning to drive involves taking a series of lessons with an end goal of the pupil demonstrating enough competencies to pass a driving

test. However, the use of an objectives model in the context of general education is more problematic and is dependent upon what we perceive to be the aims of such an education.

Objectives are slippery notions and as Stenhouse (1987:71) argues

(t)he objective framework is a conceptual scheme, not a thing. We must not reify it. We do not *have* objectives: we choose to conceptualise our behaviour in terms of objectives, or we choose not to.

In terms of teaching citizenship, an objectives-based model is difficult to manage because of the underlying principles involved in the subject. There are ‘aims’ related to the introduction of citizenship, for example an increase in democratic participation, which are not, as yet, necessarily measureable against prescribed outcomes. Indeed, it is as yet, difficult to gauge how successful the applied aspects of the curriculum will prove to be. The NfER studies (see for example, Kerr *et al*, 2007) aim to try and ascertain whether pupils’ political attitudes change over time and how citizenship affects their perceptions.

It is perhaps more appropriate to discuss citizenship in terms of a process-based model; with areas of curriculum which provide “induction into forms of knowledge and development of the mind” (McKernan, 2008:4). The idea of a process-based model is learner-centred with opportunities to initiate and develop enquiry in pupils, to encourage them to become researchers and to reflect upon their learning (Schiro, 2008). This type of curriculum model is well-suited to citizenship because it affords teachers and pupils with the chance to debate and discuss and, as Stenhouse (1987) argues, it is more suited to less conventional subjects. But, this means that contentious topics should be delivered with care:

Controversial issues are defined empirically as issues which do, in fact, divide people in our society. Teachers may wish to ensure that the teaching process does not determine the outcome, opinions and perspectives of pupils (*ibid*: 93).

The process-based model differs significantly from the objectives-based model because the former allows the teacher to alter their role; they become more of a guide than a director and, because the pupils are encouraged to take responsibility for their learning, the whole learning

experience is enriched. However, a significant aspect of the process-based model relates to assessment:

A process model is essentially a critical model, not a marking model. It can never be directed towards an examination as an objective without a loss of quality. This does not mean pupils should not be examined; rather an appropriate method of examination is required (*ibid*: 95).

Whilst it could be argued that a process-based model might be the most appropriate for citizenship, there is still a need, within the remit of the National Curriculum and our education system as a whole, for an appropriate assessment framework. The current curriculum structure for citizenship is sited within an objectives model, yet the underlying structure of the subject is one which is more suited to a process approach. Citizenship, the subject, has been misunderstood claims Leighton (2004:168):

Citizenship education appears to be understood by many outside classrooms and staffrooms as a fact or a skill, rather than as a concept, a process or an ideological artefact.

The introduction of citizenship has been controversial and concern has been expressed that the curriculum might encourage teachers to influence pupils with a heavily politicised curriculum (Myers, 2007). Curriculum development for citizenship has been overshadowed by an educational history which views any education which includes elements of a political nature with suspicion. The concern seems to be timeless as Stradling (1981) notes:

A modern day Rip van Winkle, waking up after a fifty year sleep would find people in Britain rehearsing the same kind of arguments for and against a political education which we would have heard in 1930 (Stradling, 1981:83).

As McKernan (2008) argues, our concept of curriculum, and particularly the National Curriculum, is tainted by an increasingly market-driven theory of education which includes consumers (pupils) and products (learning, qualifications). Kelly (2004) proposes that the structure of an educational curriculum within a democratic society should provide pupils with

(a) liberating experience by focusing on such things as freedom and independence of thought, of social and political empowerment, respect for the freedom of others, of an acceptance of variety of opinion, and of the enrichment of the life of every individual in that society, regardless of class, race or creed (*ibid*, 3).

Within such a framework, citizenship should thrive because the curriculum should scaffold learning to such an extent that autonomous, empowered citizens will be produced by schools. However, as we shall see in the discussion of assessment literature (Chapter 3) and the empirical study (Chapters 5-8), the assessment-focused framework which underpins the National Curriculum in England is not necessarily compatible with the criteria described by Kelly (2004). The problem of the ‘assessment cart driving the curriculum horse’ is discussed in much contemporary literature (Gipps, 1994; Stobart and Swaffield, 2006; Broadfoot, 2007). The development of curricula is equally problematic. As Langveld (1981) argued, curricula make pupils dependent upon their teachers because they are so prescriptive and have become “remote from the facts of life” (*ibid*: 27). It can be argued that the importance placed on academic aims of education has superseded the need to produce children capable of independent thought, with an understanding of society, culture and history. Thus, the curriculum for citizenship has a difficult job to attempt to penetrate the conformist structure of schools which tends to stultify any attempts at autonomy (Skillen, 1997; Faulks, 2006; Leighton, 2006).

Some curricula offer prescription, via a clear outline of instructions for content and delivery, *and* choice, so that teachers and pupils can select topics most relevant to them (Myers, 2007). Within the framework of the National Curriculum, pupils are only given subject choices from key stage 4 onwards when they are expected to make decisions about what might be most useful, or most enjoyable. Weeden (2005) conducted a study of pupil choice in GCSE subjects and found that schools are under pressure to ensure that their interpretation of the National Curriculum supports a framework for learning that provides pupils with all they need for entry to a diversifying world of employment. He suggests that changes to national examinations are forcing a re-shape of the National Curriculum. Schools appear to be increasingly concerned that they must adapt their delivery of the curriculum in order to prepare pupils for their entrance into the world of work:

Changing patterns of employment and concerns about whether the curriculum offered meets the needs of all pupils have led both to a broadening of the range of curriculum subjects offered at 14 and 16 and an increasing emphasis on vocational qualifications (Weeden, 2005:3).

The 2002 curriculum for citizenship was a move towards a more holistic vision of education with the focus on the well-being and development of the individual *as well as* upon academic success. The aims of the citizenship curriculum also reflect those of the National Strategies for school improvement which were introduced from 2000 onwards. The Strategies were intended to improve teaching and learning and to raise achievement (OFSTED, 2008). In particular, the Secondary National Strategy (DfES, 2005a) aims to transform secondary education and encourage children to make positive contributions in their schools and beyond. A further goal of the Secondary Strategy is to develop “positive behaviour for learning” and to allow young people to reach their full potential (DfES, 2005b). Such initiatives are a powerful means of tapping into educational potential and, as Dewey (1916) suggested, a truly democratic society is one that offers an education which provides individuals with a sense and understanding of the power they deserve and the habits of mind which ensure social change. It is a means of investment which is neatly encapsulated by Kant – and, as Heater (2004:197) comments, “how much more valid is such insight two centuries later!”

Children ought to be educated, not for the present, but for a possible improved condition of man in the future (Kant, translated by Churton, 1990:15).

Thus, affording pupils (and schools) with the opportunity to spend time (and other resources) considering the meaning and purpose of citizenship is a worthwhile endeavour. The issues which have confounded and confused the development of citizenship curricula in England are evident in other countries (see for example, Torney-Purta *et al*, 1999). The extent to which educators struggle with defining the subject, and the creation of a curriculum which may (or may not) be an appropriate form of delivery appears to be indicative of how citizenship needs to be understood as not just ‘another’ addition to the National Curriculum in England; it requires maximal investment.

2.2.2. International developments in citizenship

Modern democracies are reliant upon virtues such as tolerance and social cohesion in order that their citizens are able to thrive not simply as individuals, nor just within their nation state, but as part of global community (Kymlicka, 2002). A global interest and dialogue about citizenship has emerged from what Kymlicka identifies as deficiencies which many Western democracies can recognise:

- Voter apathy
- Welfare dependency
- Resurgence of nationalism (particularly in Europe)
- Failure of environmental policies that rely upon citizenship co-operation
- Disaffection with globalisation

(Kymlicka, 2002: 284)

Internationally, programmes of citizenship education have been developing swiftly since the last decade of the twentieth century (UNESCO, 2005) and, as Kerr (2002b:208) suggests, policy makers are

giving urgent consideration as to how better to prepare young people for the challenges and uncertainties of life in a rapidly changing world (Kerr, 2002b:208).

Between 1995 and 2004, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) promoted citizenship education globally through the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (see www.unhchr.ch). At the same time, the International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievements (IEA) comparative studies (Torney-Purta, 1999; Kerr, 1999; Steiner-Khamsi *et al*, 2002) were underway, with 28 countries providing data about civic education. The results of these studies reveal a diversity of approaches across a largely, but not exclusively¹⁶, Western cohort of countries, and, perhaps unsurprisingly, variation in the definitions of exactly what the subject comprises and how it should be delivered effectively (Kerr, 2002b). There are some commonalities; for example, the majority of programmes are delivered through three familiar categories: political literacy, attitudes and values and active participation. It is perhaps unsurprising that an international focus upon the development of

education for citizenship was precipitated by the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in New York. Concern for international relations was expressed by the United Nations General Assembly and plans to engender a global culture of co-operation were proposed through the *World Programme for Human Rights Education* (2005). The central themes of this programme could easily be translated through programmes of citizenship education to include:

A long-term and lifelong process by which everyone learns tolerance and respect for the dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies (United Nations General Assembly, 2005: Item 105b).

The World Programme served to support introduction of new programmes and extend existing rights-related educational policy globally. As schools in England were introducing the new citizenship curriculum, so programmes of citizenship education in France re-emphasised social cohesion in an attempt to address anti-social behaviour and violence (Osler and Starkey, 2006) and in Australia a ‘Discovering Democracy’ initiative was introduced to improve political literacy (Kerr, 2002b).

Within Europe, the significant increase in EU member states has kept citizenship high on the political agenda because, as the Eurydice survey (2005) claims:

Pupils at school need to be informed specifically about what it means to be a citizen, the kinds of rights and duties that citizenship entails and how to behave like a ‘good’ citizen (Eurydice, 2005:7).

The Eurydice study analysed the ways in which citizenship was taught in 30 countries¹⁷ across Europe with specific emphasis placed upon social cohesion and identity because of concern amongst policy-makers and the wider populous across Europe about both of these issues. It appears that there is a consensus that education has a valuable role to play in the “fostering of active and responsible citizenship” because “alongside parents, friends, and the local community, schools are the main setting for socialisation” (Eurydice, 2005:13).

The Eurydice study also found that different countries emphasised different categories within the curriculum; for example, in Germany the political literacy strand was more in evidence in the curriculum, whereas in Finland the emphasis is upon participation and values. In England it is reasonable to assert that the political literacy strand is the most strongly emphasised, particularly given the history of the curriculum (see pages 37-41).

Consideration of international and European perspectives on citizenship education reveals common ground – in delivery, content and approach – yet it reveals disparities which are likely due to cultural and social differences. However, as Miller (1992) has suggested, it is the capacity to understand our own identity and to recognise the differences in others which are integral to successfully understanding our citizen status. At a global scale, this is thoughtfully presented in the conclusion to a piece of research from UNICEF:

Citizenship, it would appear, has the capacity to hit a number of educational and social bulls' eyes: young people's apathy toward traditional politics; the need for citizens to critically engage with globalisation; the relationships between social and economic exclusion and poor education achievement, the need to improve behaviour, and reduce bullying and truancy in schools. Yet, though learning about and enacting rights and responsibilities are becoming key elements in citizenship, we are just at the tip of the iceberg (UNICEF, 2004:10).

2.2.3. Constructing citizenship curricula in England: a contentious issue

The development of citizenship as a subject entails that those responsible for its creation are necessarily obliged to make some decisions about what being a good citizen constitutes in order for schools to attain that target. The Advisory Group (QCA, 1998) considered 'ghosts of citizenship education past' and decided what could usefully be adapted, recycled and re-applied to a modern curriculum. They invited schools which had an established citizenship programme to consider the successful programmes because research by Fogelman (1991) found that pupils in schools with existing programmes of citizenship education had a higher level of involvement in extracurricular activities or with school councils. Similarly, the NfER studies (Kerr *et al*, 2007) found that schools which had an existing framework of civics or citizenship had less trouble integrating the reforms in 2002.

The Advisory Group chose to follow Marshall's (1950) tripartite model comprising civil, political and social elements but with the addition of active civic participation as an explicit and central theme of citizenship education (QCA, 1998; Lawson, 2001; Kerr, 2003a). Central to the model of citizenship were political aims and an emphasis upon the development of values through appreciation of rights and duties. The Advisory Group's aims were clear:

To make secure and to increase the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities needed for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in doing so to establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community (QCA, 1998:40).

It is difficult to deny that introduction of an education for citizenship aimed at developing a cohesive and active society is not a positive step for England. However, critics such as James Tooley (2000) argued that any group charged with the task of researching a new subject for the National Curriculum is likely to come to a conclusion that recommends its introduction. He claimed that the politicised nature of citizenship is evidence of the political leanings of committee:

If one wasn't aware of the inevitable politicisation of these types of processes, one might worry that the members of the committee either weren't self-reflective enough to realise their particular political creed was exploding through on every page, or that they were, and didn't care anyway (Tooley, 2000:145).

A curriculum which includes subjects such as party politics and international peacekeeping presents teachers with the problem of how to teach controversial issues in an unbiased fashion. Tooley believed there was little evidence to suggest that there is an inherent "need" for citizenship education. He took an extreme liberal stance which was sceptical of any government intervention in education for democracy and questioned why such a curriculum was best learned in schools. Nevertheless, the simple riposte is: "Where else will they learn these skills?" The evidence of poor voter turnout and degeneration of behaviour is compelling¹⁸ and well-documented (see National Statistics, 2007). It appears that young people are not necessarily learning these types of citizenship skills at home or in the wider community. And perhaps it is vital that the Government takes control because, as Marshall (1991) argues, the political

education which underpins citizenship is *not* something that should be left to chance. It has to be acknowledged that education will reflect the dominant values in any society and that we should therefore expect to see civil society reflected in citizenship education (Menter and Walker, 2000).

The founding of citizenship education through the Crick Report has also courted criticism for other reasons. The basis of the current system of citizenship education is founded in a “top down” approach to education for political understanding (Faulks, 2006:65). Such a model emphasises participation – i.e. it encourages voting amongst the young – but appears more reluctant when it comes to questioning the system of governance. A similar criticism was advanced by Leighton (2004) who argues that the Report’s recommendations were conservative to a fault. It is a lack of understanding about the reasons *why* young people are alienated from aspects of politics which makes much of the Crick Report’s narrow conception of citizenship questionable. Marshall (1950) argued that “citizenship requires a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilization; a common possession”, but critics¹⁹ claim there is a loss of shared values and an emphasis upon educational choice (founded in policy such as the expansion of selective education) which means that the goals of Crick’s citizenship are unachievable (Parekh, 2000; Heater, 2001; Lawson, 2001).

Political apathy is cited as a central reason for the introduction of an education for citizenship, but it is important to understand that apathy about party politics does not necessarily extend to political action. Globally, there is evidence that school-aged children are disinterested in party politics and the political process (see Kerr *et al*, 2002; 2007). However, as data from the NfER study reveals (*ibid*, 2002), the majority of the pupils in participating countries may not be interested in participating in conventional political activities such as joining a political party, but they *do* want to take action on topics which are important to them. Osler and Starkey (2006) argue that pupils are not always given the opportunity to participate and contribute in their schools and communities, yet they have a great deal to offer. Previous research (Roker 1999; Cunningham and Lavallette, 2004) found that young people *were* interested in a range of both

local and global issues, for example third world debt, anti-racism and environmental issues, and do take an active part in campaigning on these issues. However, when school pupils in England and Scotland walked out in protest at the US and British invasion of Iraq, it was not viewed as political action; instead it was deemed truancy and the pupils' actions were publicly mocked as immature behaviour. Cunningham *et al* (2002, 2004) claim that there is a disparity between the rhetoric and the reality:

Citizenship classes encourage children to show a concern for the common good and to accept the consequence of their actions; yet on the other hand, their 'reward' for articulating concerns over a major world crisis had been, in the whole, admonishment and ridicule (Cunningham *et al*, 2004:265).

Teachers could take the approach proposed by Van Gunsteren (1998), who argues that citizenship should be viewed as a subject to be learned and maintains that children should not be used to solve problems present in adult society²⁰. However, whilst pupils cannot be expected to solve international problems, they should be encouraged to believe that they can effect change and that citizenship can teach them appropriate skills for doing so.

A common concern relating to citizenship was (and still is) indoctrination of pupils via a highly politicised curriculum. Faulks (2006:59) notes: "there are complex historical reasons for the lack of teaching of political and social literacy in schools." The concerns relating to the teaching of so-called contentious (usually political) subjects are documented and discussed in detail by others (see Stradling, 1977; Langeveld, 1981; Marshall, 1991; Heater, 2004) who highlight the fear of indoctrination from teachers as central to the continued reluctance of successive governments to allow schools to teach a curriculum with any political content. Such fears seem unfounded, particularly if one believes that the Government's management of educational material would weed out any potentially subversive content:

It is difficult to see how political education, even under the guise of citizenship might prepare young people to participate in a democratic form of life where the prevailing and controlling management model of education militates against that form of life (Pring, 2004: 130).

Crick (QCA, 1998) argued that teaching cannot be an objective practice; he claimed that such an assumption always contains or masks a doctrine of some kind. But this could be addressed by giving teachers appropriate training and advice on how to be more objective in the teaching of contentious issues. The Crick Report proposed that such support be included as a part of the curriculum (Statement 5.4), but it is conspicuous in its absence from the final curriculum (QCA, 1999).

An issue which mars the development of a curriculum for citizenship is the tension apparent in the construction of the subject because as Davies *et al* (2006:68) state: “the establishment of a national structure is not the same as developing an inclusive framework that will promote equality”. The concern raised here is one of equality because (they argue) citizenship is a weak premise for education in its current format and policy makers need to ask themselves whether they are adequately addressing the complexity of the subject. Davies *et al* further propose that the frameworks of education currently in use for delivering citizenship are out-dated and believe that international issues included within the curriculum for citizenship education are vague and do no more than pay lip-service to the notion of a global status for citizenship:

National citizenship is still a strong force and education still largely serves the nation state. However, new forms of citizenship are growing in the face of globalisation. This means that new forms of education need to be developed. It is unlikely that new forms of education will be achieved by attempting to bolt very different formulations together (*ibid*: 83).

There are other issues which teachers need to take into account such as those ‘silent’ rules within education (Livesey, 2004) which acknowledge the loose, but crucial relationship between education and employment. There are additional subtle elements – Livesey calls them ‘ghosts’ - which influence our educational experience. These include: the architecture of the school, the books and language used in teaching and ultimately, the demands of employers. These elements comprise a ‘Hidden Curriculum’ (Jackson, 1968; Seaton, 2002; Heater, 2004) and, it is suggested, are not confined to the day-to-day interactions; rather they are a construct in which pupils are involved in a power dynamic between themselves and their teachers within the confines of the school environment (Jackson, 1968). Within this environment, pupils learn a range of ‘non-

academic life skills' such as responding to authority, social interactions with other pupils, accommodating boredom, and conforming to expectations. There is a suggestion that the hidden curriculum shows that what goes on in schools is more to do with domination and control and consequently perpetuates an ethos of social inequality (Seaton, 2002). This idea is emphasised by Gillborn (2006) who argues that whilst citizenship can advance equality in schools it is constrained by

(t)he dominant tradition that reinforces the status quo by binding students to a superficial and sanitised version of pluralism that is long on duties and responsibilities and short on popular struggles against race inequality (Gillborn, 2006:99).

Nevertheless, the Crick Report and the DfES claim that citizenship "creates common ground" (QCA, 1998:10) and whilst it once might have lacked a strong commitment to equality, particularly in relation to education about diversity, this has been recognised as a shortfall and is to be addressed. The findings of the Ajegbo Report (DfES, 2007) reveal a need for more detailed programmes of education for diversity and an additional 'diversity' strand will be added to the citizenship curriculum from September 2008 (QCA, 2007).

It is five years since the introduction of citizenship as a statutory subject within the secondary National Curriculum and there has been a mixed reaction from schools (see Kerr *et al*, 2007 for the most recent publication from the longitudinal study) while specially commissioned research (DfES, 2007) suggests that citizenship could do better. A different slant on the introduction of citizenship is presented by Holden (2004) who witnessed criticism of how citizenship would fit into an already crowded curriculum, but in this case the concerns were raised by parents. As her interviews with parents revealed, they were not convinced that timetabling citizenship as a statutory subject was tenable. A more personal concern relates to the evolution of an unhealthy culture of blame in English society; that is, will the teaching of citizenship afford the opportunity for government (and others) to lay the culpability for social failings at the school gates? A speech by the former Chief Inspector for Schools, David Bell (2005) is instructive here:

Schools seldom deliver good teaching in this subject. Even though it is early days in terms of implementation, this is unacceptable when one considers the important role the subject has in providing an opportunity to discuss the public dimension of pupils' development (Bell, 2005).

Bell argued that schools needed to revisit their aims and mission statements and to question the value of education. Teachers might agree with the notion of including citizenship education (in some form) in the school timetable, but what Bell fails to accentuate is the fact that citizenship education is mandatory; there is no choice in the matter. Yet by claiming that schools review their mission he suggests that there might be. What Bell is suggesting by this comment is that *schools* are not clear about their own aims and values – it is the schools' fault when they fail to deliver citizenship appropriately. This raises the issue that seems omnipresent in education: the relative value of particular subjects. If English (translate as literacy) and mathematics (translate as numeracy) are the 'minimum' necessary to be 'educated', then it seems that policymakers and teachers alike are going to find it difficult to persuade the public that citizenship is of value.

2.3. Summary of the chapter

In this chapter the literature of citizenship has been discussed in the context of its relationship to citizenship education. It is agreed that citizenship is notoriously difficult to define, yet in order to create a curriculum for citizenship, educators and policy makers have had to agree upon some concepts and a framework which is appropriate for schools. The history of citizenship reveals a complex evolution from Ancient Greek city states to the modern conception of the citizen within the context of democratic nation states. The role of the individual and their relationship with the construct of a wider community was considered in light of the political philosophies of liberalism and communitarianism. The English model of the citizen-subject is founded in a late twentieth century ideal of the individual as self-reliant and it is only recently that an emphasis on community values and the recognition of social unrest have signified a change in the perception of the citizen. Citizenship, both at conceptual and educational levels is a highly politicised notion and these issues were considered to be central to the understanding of what it means to be a citizen and how we should be educating for citizenship.

The construction of the citizenship curriculum was a difficult task and issues relating to content and delivery are only becoming apparent after five years of practice in English schools. The framework of the curriculum is under review and there are recommendations for change which will come into practice from September 2008. A particular curriculum issue which relates to assessment is the use of a predominantly objectives-based structure to the current curriculum for citizenship. This does not seem to be compatible with a subject which requires an active, participatory involvement from pupils; the notion of objective goal-setting for achievement in citizenship sits awkwardly with the more general aim of developing 'better' citizens.

Citizenship curricula are being developed across the world and development of the English model has been influenced by a complex series of historical, political and social events. There are contentious issues which relate to the development of the citizenship curriculum. A general concern about the politicisation of education continues to be discussed both in and out of educational circles. This discussion is potentially damaging for citizenship because the subject is often misrepresented and its aims of encouraging knowledge about politics and understanding of political issues can be misconstrued as teachers being given the opportunity to indoctrinate their pupils. Teachers are further troubled by the validity of the subject; the results from OFSTED (2005, 2006) do not paint a positive picture of citizenship delivery and consequently, the status of the subject still hangs in the balance.

In the next chapter, the assessment structure of citizenship will be presented and assessment in English schools will be discussed. Assessment is integral to the National Curriculum and issues relating to key themes in assessment will be presented and evaluated.

CHAPTER 3. ASSESSMENT IN EDUCATION

This chapter discusses the subject of school-based assessment, not only in relation to the teaching of citizenship, but its context within the framework of the National Curriculum in English secondary schools. Assessment, particularly school-based assessment, has generated a wide range of literature and, as Broadfoot and Black (2004:10) argue, much of it “focuses upon techniques rather than questioning the validity or suitability of purpose.” This review introduces the framework for assessment of citizenship in the National Curriculum and then discusses some broader assessment issues. Methods of assessment are considered, together with some of the key issues including validity, teacher competence and application within secondary education and I examine how these affect the assessment of citizenship.

Perceptions of assessment can be influenced by the emphasis placed upon methods which receive a lot of press and media coverage, namely national tests and ‘high-stakes’ examinations such as GCSE and GCE A levels, but as this chapter will reveal, the term assessment covers a range of processes. We are an increasingly test-focused society and England has now achieved the dubious distinction of subjecting its school pupils to more external tests than any other country in the world and spending more money on doing so (Whetton, 1999 cited in James, 2000). A review of the national testing procedures (Directgov, 2007) demonstrates that pupils in England can expect to take national tests and similar assessments during 10 of their 13 years at school²¹.

In the development of this research there were specific areas relating to assessment which were identified as relevant and this chapter presents them in four sections:

- Assessing the ‘unassessable’
- The assessment framework for citizenship
- Developing the theme of assessment
- Issues in assessment

The first section of the review examines the measurement of so-called ‘unmeasurable’ subjects (Inman *et al*, 1998). There are arguments both for and against the assessment of citizenship and these will be discussed in the context of the recommended framework from the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). When the Advisory Group for Citizenship Education (QCA, 1998) first presented their report on a curriculum for citizenship, the assessment of pupils’ work was a relatively insignificant part of the reviewing body’s proposals. It was believed that assessment might impact upon the way pupils felt about themselves and concern that a poor grade in citizenship would be perceived as a judgement upon an individual’s character. Creating effective and appropriate ways to assess citizenship was judged to be a difficult task from the outset (Kerr, 2002). The second part of this chapter discusses the development of the curriculum for citizenship. I provide an outline of the current framework for assessment and consider some of the issues which have been raised by the current, limited literature of citizenship assessment.

Part three of the chapter presents the broader contexts of assessment and discusses relevant issues including the purpose of assessment and the evolution of assessments within the English education system. I identify and discuss the different modes of assessment used in schools and the ways in which they are applied. In the fourth part of the chapter issues which affect both teachers and pupils are discussed together with the debates surrounding the value of ‘high-stakes’ assessments. The notion of assessment as a public issue is a prevalent educational theme; therefore questions of validity and concurrent value of tests and examinations are discussed and evaluated.

3.1. Assessing the unassessable?

In the introduction to this thesis the efficacy of assessing citizenship was noted as one of the issues which were of concern to the researcher: Could a subject that was meant to be practical, holistic, a ‘way of life’ even be assessed to any worthwhile end? And what did the assessment say

about the subject? Was a summative test of knowledge regarding types of law an indicator of proficient citizenship? Did the subject need something else, or indeed, any assessment at all? Four years ago I was unconvinced that citizenship could be assessed in a productive way and concerned that assessment was both piecemeal and problematical for the status of the subject. Questioning the value of assessing citizenship is not unusual, but as Professor Bart McGettrick's (2001) criticism suggested, it is problematic:

The greatest sin is to believe that education is the curriculum. In England curriculum is everything. They even test children on citizenship. How crazy can you get? If you put a legal framework around concepts like this you distort society in the most horrendous way. (McGettrick quoted in Scott, 2001: 9)

However, McGettrick falls into the trap of assuming that assessment *is* testing and that consequently, this will necessarily have a negative impact upon pupils, or as he suggests, wider society. An issue that was high-lighted at the introduction of the subject was that an assessment of citizenship in the National Curriculum should be assessment of the subject, *not* the pupil (QCA, 1998). This is important to emphasise and, in part, reflects the concern amongst teachers about the perception of the subject. Kerr (2002) argues that there are some who believe it is not possible to assess citizenship education because it will lead to the labelling of pupils as failed citizens. Similar questions are also asked by Heater (2001:120):

Will they [assessments] satisfy the need for contributing to the accumulation of qualifications? And, will a pupil who scores badly be labelled a failed citizen?

Heater's questions demonstrate a conceptual lack of understanding about assessment. They "confuse the nature and purpose of assessment in citizenship education" (Kerr, 2002:2) because it is the *value* of their learning *related* to citizenship which is important. The Crick Report (QCA, 1998) had emphasised a 'softly, softly' approach to assessment, thus reinforcing their claim that citizenship education was "not an end in itself" (*ibid*: 8), but pupils should understand that their achievements were not just about grades, but also about making a contribution to wider to society. Early documentation from QCA (2000) emphasised the 'testing of the person versus the testing of understanding' concern:

Assessment in citizenship should not imply that pupils are failing as citizens. It should not be a judgement of the worth, personality or value of an individual pupil or their family (QCA, 2000:25).

Jerome (2002, 2004) suggests that those engaged in training of teachers should aim to clarify this issue with PGCE students through their briefing documents:

It is important to clarify for ourselves and for young people that assessment in school is concerned with Citizenship Education, not their citizenship status – teachers should not be seen as failing young people as citizens (Jerome, 2004:2).

This issue was discussed with both teachers and pupils in this research and, as we shall see in Chapters 5-8, it concerns the teachers a great deal more than it does their pupils. Pupils appear to know that they can fail an assessment in citizenship and there might be many reasons for this: lack of knowledge about a topic or failure to play their part in a group activity will result in a poor level of achievement. But as in any other subject, are we sure that pupils are aware that a poor grade does not reflect upon them as an individual citizen?

3.1.1. Introducing assessment of the unassessable

There are official guidelines for the assessment of citizenship (see, QCA, 2007 for the most up to date information), but this has not always been the case. The Crick Report (QCA, 1998) proposed a reserved approach to assessment – only two sections of the report make any substantive mention of assessment: 5.6 and 6.4.

5.6 A note on assessment

5.6.1. Learning in citizenship education must also make a significant contribution to raising standards and enabling pupils to achieve their full potential if the implications of our recommendations for assessment and reporting are fully understood. We decided that the assessment and reporting of pupils' progression, as in existing National Curriculum subjects, was inappropriate for citizenship. This should not be taken as a signal that we see citizenship as a 'soft option' in the curriculum with no rigour or bite.

5.6.2. We support assessment and reporting in citizenship through tightly defined learning outcomes. These provide a fair and rigorous basis for assessment, reporting and inspection, both internal and external. They enable assessment by teachers of pupils' progress and progression in their citizenship learning. They also provide (a) a means for schools to report pupils' progress in citizenship education to parents via the annual report on that child; (b) the means to outline to parents collectively the school's approach to citizenship education through the

annual school governors' report; (c) the means to measure the standards and objectivity of citizenship education within and across schools; and (d) information to OFSTED inspectors to assist them in making judgements on the quality of citizenship education in a school and the progress that pupils make (QCA, 1998:28-9).

Firstly, consider the title: "A note on assessment" (QCA, 1998:28). To the casual observer this might suggest that assessment was not really considered to be an important factor in citizenship education. In section 5.6.1, the Report claims that "...assessment and reporting of pupils' progression, as in existing National Curriculum subjects, was inappropriate for citizenship" (QCA, 1998: 28). This is rather perplexing because the Report adds that this should not mean that citizenship becomes seen as a "soft option", yet its proposed construction instantly sets it apart from the other foundation subjects and the lack of comparable assessment could make it seem less academic.

In section 5.6.2 the detail of assessment is fleshed out a little, but its aims are remarkably conservative. Two means of reporting to parents were proposed together with the collection of data for between-school comparisons and for OFSTED inspections. The Advisory Group believed that learning outcomes (Appendix A) would provide a "fair and rigorous basis for assessment, reporting and inspection both internal and external" (QCA, 1998:29). However, comprehensive as the learning outcomes were, the Report did not offer an equally comprehensive guide to the implementation and use of assessments best-suited to citizenship. This anomaly was noted and questioned by Arthur, Davison and Snow (2000):

A curriculum subject designed to promote the development of autonomous, critical and self-confident citizens but which has no reference to the development of pupils' learning in its proposed rationale for assessment is striking indeed (Arthur *et al*, 2000:87).

The guidance for teachers advice comprised just two paragraphs:

6.4 Teacher Assessment of Learning

6.4.1 Day-to-day assessment supports teaching and learning in citizenship education. It helps teachers to clarify their learning objectives and articulate them to pupils, and provides a measure of the progress that pupils have made in the learning outcomes. Such assessment should be practicable and manageable,

providing useful information to the parties involved without becoming burdensome. Day-to-day assessments will take a number of forms, including observation, listening and appraising pupils' written work. This assessment is most effective where it arises naturally from the teaching approaches, learning opportunities and experiences. It should be valued by pupils and raise the standards of achievement in citizenship. Day-to-day assessment will contribute to periodic reporting on standards and progress and ultimately to pupils' Records of Achievement.

6.4.2 At Key Stage 4, it is important that there are opportunities for pupils to receive accreditation for their work in citizenship. Awarding bodies should be encouraged to develop a range of appropriate qualifications to match the needs of young adolescents, including full, combined and short course GCSEs, GNVQs and Certificates of Achievement (QCA, 1998:39).

Whilst assessment might not have been at the forefront of the Advisory Group's brief, it seems wholly remiss to downgrade its importance when arguing the case "for citizenship education being a vital and distinct statutory part of the curriculum" (QCA, 1998:13). Assessment is omnipresent within the National Curriculum; indeed it can be argued that it is now a compelling and driving force in education (Gipps, 1994; Broadfoot, 1996; 1998; 2007). Therefore, it is difficult to appreciate why Crick chose not to emphasise its importance. Perhaps the Advisory Group's conclusion that assessing citizenship in similar ways to existing National Curriculum subjects, was inappropriate for citizenship was their way of admitting they could not devise a successful assessment structure.

Initially, schools were expected to use the single attainment target for citizenship (see Appendix B) and to ensure that they followed what was prescribed in the first National Curriculum booklet for citizenship:

Teaching should ensure that knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens are acquired and applied when developing skills of enquiry and communication and participation and responsible action (DfES, 1999: 14)

As the citizenship curriculum developed and the assessment was reviewed, schools were offered something more concrete (QCA, 2000). The learning outcomes were discarded and the expectations for key stages 3 and 4 were redrafted as three strands:

- Knowledge and understanding;

- Communication skills; and
- Active participation.

Gone was the suggestion that assessment was a ‘note’; it evolved into a more robust heading:

‘Assessment, recording and reporting’ which stated:

Assessment offers pupils the opportunity to: know how they are progressing; direct their efforts in areas of need; feel confident about progress; gain credit for participative activities (QCA, 2000:25).

It was expected that assessment of citizenship in secondary schools would use the following model:

- Assessments should be based on the single attainment target for each key stage.
- The three strands - Knowledge and understanding; Communication skills development; and Active participation – should be assessed appropriately.
- Pupils should engage with the assessment process: self, group or peer assessment.
- A portfolio (or similar) will be used to store and present pupils’ work.
- Progress should be reported to parents in an annual report.
- Teachers might consider developing their own certificates of achievement or other awards if they are not using another nationally recognised form of qualification.
- Pupils should be made aware that assessments of citizenship are not a judgment of personal worth (QCA, 2000:25-6).

Well before the introduction of citizenship in 2002, Davies *et al* (1999) warned of gaps in the implementation of assessment of the subject. In 1999, there was very little to constitute an understanding of successful achievement in relation to the procedural concepts of citizenship, but it was acknowledged that assessment in citizenship would need to consider the active elements of the proposed curriculum:

Assessment of active intervention is obviously something which is already at the heart of teacher education programmes. We cannot pretend that we are unused to assessing practical performance. (Davies *et al*, 1999:118).

In saying this, Davies *et al* suggested that teachers cannot use the excuse that practical forms of assessment are unfamiliar and affect their ability to implement a framework for assessment. It is

the responsibility of teachers to be creative about their assessment of citizenship because the subject needs appropriate assessments which match “the content and style of learning of the subject” (Rowntree, 2001:162). However, a cynical attitude towards this was expressed by Tooley (2000) who considered the single-level attainment targets and questioned how these could differentiate between key stages. So “unprescriptive” was the guidance for teachers, he argued, that the outcomes were open to abuse because (some) teachers will “tick boxes to meet targets” rather than engage with effective ways of developing the subject through assessment (Tooley, 2000:146).

From the outset, the ‘light touch’ approach to citizenship delivery, particularly in relation to assessment, has not been entirely successful. OFSTED Reports in 2004 and 2006 claimed that the assessment of citizenship was weak or ineffective. Results from the NfER’s longitudinal studies concur; for example, Kerr and Cleaver (2004) reported that assessment of citizenship was “a major concern and an area that needs immediate attention” (2004:27), and their 2007 report revealed a continued deficit:

The majority of teachers still feel that assessment recording and reporting progress are some of the main challenges in citizenship education (Kerr *et al*, 2007:83).

There are, as Brett (2004) points out, a number of reasons why assessment for citizenship remains a problematical undertaking and three of these are particularly relevant to this research. First, the lack of a clear definition for the subject (as discussed in Chapter 2) leaves it open to interpretation and this means the structure of assessment is weak. Second, the cross-curricular delivery of the subject reinforces the perception that it is not a ‘stand-alone’ subject and therefore is unworthy of assessment which is comparable to other timetabled subjects. Finally, whilst mixed methods of assessment are recommended, they are often “under-developed in both theory and practice” (Brett, 2004:7)

Heater (2001) discusses the tensions relating to the introduction of assessment for citizenship. He claims that citizenship *must* have the option of a qualification because:

(i)f civic education has failed to establish itself in the past because it has not been an examination subject, how can it achieve the required status for success now without carrying a GCSE qualification? (Heater, 2001:120).

The assessment of the citizenship curriculum is only statutory at the end of key stage 3 and it is up to schools whether or not they choose to assess pupils at the end of key stage 4 (QCA, 2007). Thus, teachers face a difficult decision. They know that pupils want something tangible to show for their efforts in a subject (Newton, 2002). Schools are not always able to offer a certificated assessment because there are a number of conditions including finance, resources and teaching expertise, which have to be met in order for a specification to be adopted. Choosing *not* to offer a certificated assessment at key stage 4 is tantamount to subject suicide because as Harland (2000: 61) notes: “No one can deny the status problems of non-examined elements in the curriculum.”

This assessment-centric attitude is of particular relevance to citizenship. In a study of four schools’ implementation procedures for the subject, Leighton (2006) found the experience of education

(s)o imbued with an achievement ethic that, for many (pupils, parents and staff), no examination equals no importance. For some staff, examinations are necessary to legitimize the subject. It seems that it’s perceived as ‘easier’ to keep to the examination philosophy than to develop an attitude supporting the importance of learning/understanding ‘because it is useful’ to the individual and their neighbours and society at large (Leighton, 2006:175).

The delivery of a GCSE was recommended by the Crick Report (see QCA, 1998 - Section: 5.5.5) and the resulting short courses in citizenship are undoubtedly popular.

This is illustrated in see Figure 3.1 below which shows the candidate entry levels for all three awarding bodies:

Figure 3.1: Candidate entry levels for GCSE short course in citizenship

	AQA*	EDX*	OCR*	Totals
2003 Entry	988	1926	3357	6271
Subject introduction				
2004 Entry	7034	8988	11191	27213
%age increase	611.9	366.7	233.4	333.9
2005 Entry	9649	13450	15278	38377
%age increase	37.2	49.6	36.5	41.0
2006 Entry	13267	19810	21458	54535
%age increase	37.5	47.3	40.5	42.1
2007 Entry	14820	26669	31831	73320
%age increase	11.7	34.6	48.3	34.4
Four year increase	1400.0	1284.7	848.2	1069.2

*Data from Joint Council for General Qualifications (2007)

But, there is an issue with the citizenship award being a Short Course, as Johnson (2007) notes:

There is no incentive for secondary schools to take them seriously; the half GCSE available is of little help with the league tables (Johnson, 2007:58).

It appears that short courses are seen as a ‘poor relation’ to the full course GCSEs and whilst such attitudes are disappointing, they are perhaps unsurprising and reflect an unspoken but hierarchical approach to assessments and qualifications. The status of subjects seems to be affected by whether or not they *have* an assessment, but is the *type* of assessment a further indicator of value? And, are teachers of citizenship sufficiently supported so that they select assessments which are appropriate for their pupils?

Further evaluation of an embedded programme of citizenship in schools features in the *Minutes of Evidence from the Select Committee: Citizenship Review* (2007). Some of the reports which fed into the Review provide compelling evidence for subject reconstruction and consideration of how assessment frameworks are affecting the value of the subject. In particular, evidence from the Citizenship Foundation (Breslin *et al*, 2006:11) suggests that teachers do not need to compromise quality and integrity by reducing assessment to a mere “paper exercise and another examination”; it is the responsibility of the Government, via the QCA, to reconsider how citizenship is best assessed:

At present, the issue of assessing progress in Citizenship is undermined by the lack of support from QCA as a whole into researching the broader relationship between assessment, progression in learning and the development of social, moral and political thinking. There is much good quality psychological research on which to build a clear picture of how to assess progress in this subject (and from which other subjects might learn). Officers in the Citizenship team at QCA have done what they can on a very meagre budget but much more development work in this area is needed. As with our discussion of CPD, inspection and LA support, this again points to a general failure to take a strategic overview of how to build all the necessary components of a new subject (Breslin *et al*, 2006:11).

This section has discussed some of the issues which affect the assessment of citizenship. There is concern amongst policy makers and teachers that assessments do not measure the worth of the individual; rather, they should assess and develop an understanding of what it means to be a citizen. These concerns were intimated in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) and its somewhat parsimonious approach to discussing assessment. The Advisory Group was reluctant to outline a framework for assessment and it was left to QCA to construct the model which is now in use. The slow development of the assessment has created a culture of anxiety within schools and there is evidence emerging (from this and other studies for example, Kerr *et al*, 2007) which suggests that assessment is a significant challenge in the teaching of citizenship. Therefore, how is citizenship assessed effectively? Whilst qualifications in the form of a short course GCSE are available, these are viewed either with suspicion (a short course is not valuable) or welcomed with open arms (the specification provides detailed and precise teaching guidance). What is evident is the need for greater clarification of assessment of citizenship and further reassurance for teachers and their

pupils that achievements in citizenship are comparable to achievements in other National Curriculum subjects.

The next section describes the framework for assessment. It is explanatory rather than discursive because it is meant to outline the standard policy in readiness for the presentation and discussion of the results in Chapters 5-8.

3.2. The assessment framework for citizenship

This section outlines the frameworks for assessment which apply to citizenship at key stages 3 and 4. The “light touch” (QCA, 2001) status of citizenship has to be emphasised:

Schools are free to assess citizenship in ways that are compatible with their provision. What is important is that assessment responds to the flexible nature of the programmes of study and is based upon clear criteria (Campbell, 2000:3).

At the time of conducting this research, teachers were free to choose their own methods of assessment and work to a single attainment target at the end of each key stage, although this approach will change from September 2008 when the revised secondary curriculum is implemented (see endnote 22).

There are a wide range of assessments available for citizenship and the setting of clear expectations together with involvement from pupils will help them to engage with the subject (Richardson, 2006). The assessment framework for citizenship differs from the other foundation subjects within the National Curriculum and these differences will be explained in more detail together with the options available to schools when planning their assessment.

The literature of citizenship assessment is very limited and this section draws largely on the official documentation from QCA (to outline the policy) and Huddleston and Kerr’s (2006)

guidance in *Making Sense of Citizenship. A continuing professional development handbook*, together with some of the guidance available from other organisations such as Citized (www.citized.info), the Association of Citizenship Teachers and the few book chapters devoted to the subject (Tudor, 2001; Keast, 2003, Richardson, 2006).

3.2.1. How is citizenship assessed?

Teachers are required to keep a record of pupils' progress in citizenship throughout secondary school and they are required to include citizenship in annual reports to parents in Years 7-11. Schools only have to assess pupils' attainment in citizenship at the end of key stage 3 (Year 9); there is no statutory requirement for assessment at the end of key stage 4 (National Curriculum Online, 2007).

Official guidance (QCA, 2001:13-14) claims that assessment should be active and participatory so that pupils are able to assess their progress, reflect upon their learning and plan future work with their teacher. The guidance provides a six-part outline for planning internal assessments and choosing externally assessed qualifications:

- Assessing progress: to ensure that achievements of all pupils are recognised.
- Planning for effective assessment for learning: introducing a formative basis to assessment.
- Providing assessment opportunities: devising a range of assessment methods.
- Regular self-assessment: introducing and developing this practice with pupils.
- Portfolio of evidence: creating and maintaining portfolios as a record of achievements.
- Making assessment 'active': using activities as a means of assessment.

(QCA, 2001:16)

Huddleston and Kerr (2006) develop these themes and encourage teachers to experiment with methods which are appropriate for pupils and emphasise further pupil involvement through the use of self- and peer-assessment techniques. These types of assessment are still unusual and are a

reflection of the fact that the assessment framework for citizenship is less prescriptive compared to other subjects. Whilst the multi-method approach to assessment fits with the “light touch” (QCA, 2001) ethos of citizenship, it does not necessarily acknowledge that pupils and teachers need time and the resources to become proficient assessors. There are, claims Brett (2004:6), few models which clearly illustrate how progression in citizenship might be assessed and “all parties [pupils, teachers and parents] grapple with the scaffolding of pupils’ learning without a clear idea of the destination.”

3.2.2. Attainment levels in citizenship

Attainment is assessed on the basis of the attainment target for citizenship education. The target consists of end-of-key-stage descriptions which lay out the type and range of performance that the majority of pupils should demonstrate by the end of the key stage (as long as they have been taught the programme of study). Citizenship is a foundation subject; therefore schools are expected to establish standards which are comparable with other subjects (Huddleston and Kerr, 2006:144). Unlike other National Curriculum foundation subjects, all of which have eight attainment levels, the assessment requirements are based upon one level description²² for each key stage. There is an expectation that by the end of Year 9 attainment will match the level demanded in other subjects and be broadly equivalent to levels 5 & 6 (National Curriculum Online, 2007). The QCA guidance currently recommends that teachers decide whether a pupil is:

- ‘Working Towards’ the level
- ‘Working At’ the level; or
- ‘Working Beyond’ the level.

The level description (QCA, 2001:14) states that by the end of key stage 3, most pupils should:

- Have a broad knowledge and understanding of the topical events they study; the rights, duties and responsibilities of citizens; the role of the voluntary sector; forms of government; provision of public services; and criminal and legal systems.
- Show understanding of how the public gets information; how opinion is formed and expressed; including through the media and how and why changes take place in society.

- Take part in school and community-based activities, demonstrate personal and group responsibility in attitudes to themselves and others.

The key stage 4 description takes the statements above and strengthens them (the additional words are emboldened for emphasis):

Have a **comprehensive** knowledge of the topical events they study; the rights, responsibilities and duties of citizens; the role of the voluntary sector; forms of government and the civil and criminal justice, legal and economic system.

They **obtain and use** different kinds of information, including the media, to form and express an opinion. They **evaluate the effectiveness** of different ways of bringing about change at **different levels** of society.

Pupils take part **effectively** in school and community-based activities, **showing a willingness and commitment to evaluate** such activities **critically**. They demonstrate personal and group responsibility in their attitudes to themselves and others (QCA, 2001:16).

Thus, from key stage 3 to key stage 4 the differences in expected outcomes are significant: “knowledge” becomes “comprehensive knowledge” and the second statement requires pupils to “Obtain and use different types of information, to form and express opinion...Evaluate the effectiveness of different ways of bringing about change”. By the end of key stage 4, pupils are expected to show a deeper commitment to “take part effectively” and to develop ability to “evaluate critically”.

Assessing the knowledge and understanding aspects of the curriculum is reasonably straightforward because pupils’ knowledge can be demonstrated through written tests, coursework and presentations (National Curriculum online, 2007). However, assessment of the skills required for parts 2 and 3 of the descriptors is more challenging for teachers and guidance is available in the Schemes of Work on the DfES website (DfES, 2004a). Nevertheless, Huddleston and Kerr (2006) propose that teachers use a range of assessment methods including:

Assessment for learning: a programme of on-going assessments which are clearly defined so that pupils are conversant with the learning goals and assessment criteria. In addition these approaches will allow pupils to make decisions about their own progression and enable them to enhance their own learning. (The concept of assessment for learning is further discussed on pages 84 and 93).

Assessment of learning: assessment which is about judging pupils' performance against national standards. This type of assessment can be used as evidence for recording and reporting. It might include: essays, diaries, presentations, web-based projects, film or video, tests and research projects.

Assessment is a key feature of the National Secondary Strategy (DfES, 2006) and Assessment for Learning (AfL) comprises a significant part of the advisory documentation for schools – the Standards Site (www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/secondary/keystage3) alone offers twenty-two advisory documents to support the development of assessment practice. However, like all subjects, citizenship has its idiosyncrasies and Richardson (2006:85) recommends that teachers consider certain issues when planning a framework for assessment:

- Acknowledgement of the difficulties inherent in assessing citizenship when it is taught in a cross-curricular manner.
- Being realistic about the number of methods they will employ and ensuring that evidence of learning is of a suitable standard.
- Consideration of the use of a qualification e.g. GCSE to help focus the delivery of the subject.
- Training that they might need to help them evaluate and assess proficiently.

The flexible and light touch approach to assessment in citizenship can be used successfully to develop understanding and to motivate pupils in secondary schools so that they are afforded a tangible sense of achievement. Research by OFSTED (2005) found that standards of delivery in citizenship were higher in schools where a qualification was offered, therefore a range of qualifications are now presented to schools for consideration.

3.2.3. Qualifications for Citizenship

GCSE specifications for citizenship were available from September 2002. Three awarding bodies: Assessment and Qualifications Alliance, Edexcel and Oxford, Cambridge and RSA currently offer a GCSE short course and the structure of each award is similar with 60% of the marks achieved through an externally-assessed written examination and the remaining 40% via internally-assessed coursework. The assessment objectives outlined in the specifications of the three awarding bodies mirror the key stage 4 attainment targets (QCA, 2000) - see Appendix B. There is little difference in the wording used by the awarding bodies and the objectives comprise the following aims:

1. To develop and apply knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens and the development of skills for citizenship;
2. To explore local, national and international issues and problems and events of current interest;
3. To critically evaluate participation within school and community activities.

In the early days of citizenship curriculum development, the task facing the awarding bodies was to create specifications which allowed pupils to demonstrate these very different sets of skills. As we shall see in Chapter 6, pupils are used to tests of knowledge which measure what they know, but the aims of these specifications also place further emphasis upon skills of enquiry and practical application of citizenship skills and behaviours.

The specifications (Assessment and Qualifications Alliance, 2006; Edexcel, 2006; Oxford, Cambridge & RSA, 2006) provide very detailed grade descriptions which teachers can use to guide pupils in developing pupils' knowledge and skills to work towards the GCSE. Where the National Curriculum descriptions at key stage 3 refer to pupils working 'Towards', 'At' or 'Beyond', the structure of the GCSE specifications is such that grade descriptions provide detailed outlines of what is expected for individual grades. The marking schemes define how and where marks will be allocated for each part of the assessment. The qualifications currently available for Citizenship are outlined in Table 3.2 (see next page).

Table 3.2: Summary of qualifications available for citizenship

QUALIFICATION	Description
Entry Level Certificate (ELC)	These qualifications are designed for learners not yet ready for GCSE, foundation GNVQ or NVQ Level 1. Students can achieve ELCs at three different levels, broadly in line with National Curriculum levels 1-3. Students are assessed in tasks which may be written, spoken or practical.
General Certificate in Secondary Education - Short Course (GCSE)	A GCSE Short Course takes half the study time of a full GCSE, so students sometimes complete it after one year. GCSE short courses call for students to do coursework and exams to the same standards as a full GCSE, but they cover only half the content. If a student does two short courses they will have the equivalent of a full GCSE.
General Certificate in Education – Advanced Subsidiary (AS)	Advanced subsidiary specifications may be used in one of two ways: As a final qualification, allowing candidates to broaden their studies and to defer decisions about specialism; As the first half (50%) of an Advanced Level qualification. Advanced Subsidiary is designed to provide an appropriate assessment of knowledge, understanding and skills expected of candidates who have completed the first half of a full Advanced Level qualification.
Other qualifications: Duke of Edinburgh Award Certificate in Life Skills Certificate in Community Volunteering	This not an exhaustive list of the qualifications which are associated with citizenship, but these are commonly used in English schools. Schools often run these awards as after-school activities but can include them into the wider curriculum using citizenship teaching time.

N.B. From July 2008, AQA will launch its first full GCE A level in Citizenship Studies – the course is subject to approval from QCA and, if successful, will be the first of its kind in England (AQA, 2007).

This part of the chapter has outlined the ways in which schools can formally assess citizenship and the qualifications which are currently available for use with the subject. Whilst it provides an accurate picture of the overall framework, it cannot list all of the methods of assessment and qualifications currently available; these can be investigated by referring to the websites of the QCA and the DfES.

Providing a review of the policy for assessment of citizenship offers an answer to one of the early research questions: “How is citizenship assessed?” but it only reveals one perspective, that of the policy maker. In order to understand assessment practice further, it is necessary to ask those engaged in practice – the teachers and pupils. In addition, consideration of assessment practice

raises further questions relating to the rationale (at national levels and for individual teachers) for assessment: Will the use of assessments enhance the status of citizenship? Do they give this relatively 'young' subject validity and do the policy recommendations allow teachers to assess citizenship effectively?

The next part of the chapter broadens the scope of the literature review by discussing the function and context of assessment. Assessment has become a defining part of the English education system and comprises a range of approaches which are evaluated and discussed.

3.3. Developing the theme of assessment

Assessment of academic achievement serves many functions in education (Nuttall, 1986; Lambert 2005); it provides a means of assessing pupils' progress with a view to enhancing both teaching and learning (Gipps and Stobart, 1993; Torrance and Pryor, 1998; Swaffield and Dudley, 2002; Harlen, 2004, 2007) and plays an important role in the maintenance of educational standards (Le Metais, 1997; Baird *et al*, 2000; Wragg, 2001; MORI/CDELL, 2002).

Assessment (in the form of testing) was formally established in the English state education system during 1851²³ (Curtis and Boulton, 1967; Maclure, 1973). What is particularly significant about the introduction of assessments was the beginning of accountability on the part of teachers through 'payment by results'. The scheme was unpopular and quickly scrapped (Aldrich, 2000), but its failure did not prevent a link being forged between assessment and pupil performance, *and* more significantly, the performance of teachers and their schools (Black 2002). With its roots in Victorian educational practice, judgements about the success of schools have evolved into a complex process which includes the assessment of teacher performance and how this affects pupils' performances in assessment. It is this link which is of particular relevance to this research because contemporary schooling is strongly focused upon the qualifications which result from academic achievement and this emphasis affects curriculum delivery and attitudes to

the subjects which are a part of the statutory curriculum. What underpins all of the developments in assessment is the fact that examinations did not appear as if from the ether; they were a response to a tangible need (Broadfoot and Black, 2004). Assessments and qualifications were a response to the need for a more literate work force required during the Industrial Revolution (Broadfoot and Stobart, 1995) and have evolved into the highly-specialised raft of qualifications which exist within today's education systems to define and measure skills and knowledge.

Assessment is a central part of any education system and it should not be viewed as an add-on to teaching and learning (Broadfoot, 1996), but attempting to create a single definition for the term is a difficult task because

(a)ssessment is a socially embedded activity which can only be understood by taking account of the culture, economic and political contexts within which it operates (Stobart 2003:3).

There is confusion regarding the meaning of assessment in a school-based context (Broadfoot and Black, 2004). This is, argues Gipps (1994), due to the fact that there is now a wider range of methods in use than ever before. In this thesis 'assessment' it is meant as an umbrella term which includes different *modes*: for example, examinations, tests, oral presentations, demonstrations, performances, coursework, portfolios; and *methods*: peer and self assessments, observations, teacher assessments and certificated assessments. Teachers commonly use certain modes of assessment, but the way in which they *deliver* them will vary. For example, tests or examinations are often used to assess progress, but teachers might also ask pupils to review their achievements in the tests using self-assessment as a means of reflection. Other teachers observe pupils delivering presentations to the class and then ask peers to judge and grade the performance.

Assessment in the twenty-first century has a high profile within all sectors of education. The structure of assessment has changed dramatically over recent decades, as has the public value and perception of qualifications. Gipps (1994) believes that this is due to the emergence of a new assessment paradigm and it is one which recognises that there is a widening audience and context

for assessments in England. Indeed, there is a public recognition that the role of assessment has changed. Sir Ken Boston, Chief Executive of the QCA recently described it as “the daily work of teachers” (2006) and in a speech to the Institute of Educational Assessors he announced:

No other country devotes as much time and expertise to developing measures of pupil progress. We are indeed a nation that likes to measure and test, but the question remains: To what end? (Boston, 2006: no page)

Boston’s question is central to any discussion about assessment because without an aim there is no reason to assess; the purpose of an assessment determines the construct of an assessment regime.

3.3.1. The purposes of assessment

Desforges (1989, 2002) argues that assessment can be viewed as an exercise in the gathering of information, but it is also an exercise which must have a purposive, definable outcome. In a school-based setting, the delivery of assessments should ensure that those who are being assessed benefit from the process; for example, pupils should know how they have scored in a test, what that score means and the *purpose* of the test. He stresses:

Assessment information can, in principle, help inform the next step in teaching and learning. Feedback is a significant factor in every theory of learning (Desforges, 2002:229).

The purpose of assessment in schools is further refined by Gipps (1994) in: *Beyond Testing. Towards a theory of educational assessment*. She argues that the “prime purpose of assessment is professional” (Gipps, 1994:3) and taxpayers, the government, and the general public are entitled to information about educational performance. Her description of assessment practice in the realm of education can be described as a three-tiered hierarchy:

1. Assessments of whole-school performance (success in teaching and learning, maintenance of standards, monitoring of progress).
2. Certificated assessments; indicators of performance at the end of key stage 4 and post-16 (GCSEs, GCE A levels and vocational qualifications).
3. Internal pupil performance tests and examinations and the day-to-day assessment practice which is conducted in every school.

Gipps's categorisation of the processes is particularly useful because it serves as both reminder and clarification of the different roles which are required by schools when undertaking assessment. Schools *have* to conduct what I consider to be their 'bread & butter' assessments which measure and test whole-school performance on a national scale; the tests upon which they are reliant for their 'league table' placing and status. But teachers are also simultaneously engaged in continuous assessments which comprise appraisal and reflection upon their pupils' learning, and also their own teaching and management skills. They achieve this by using methods of assessment which provide richer results. Different types of assessment are necessary in schools, but there are problematical issues which teachers face; these include striking a balance between what is necessary for reporting and recording the school's achievement and what is appropriate for aiding pupils' personal academic progress. Wiliam (2006) notes that allowing teachers to choose what they want to do is appealing, but not necessarily rigorous because they might not choose assessments which impact upon pupil achievement and it is widely accepted that assessment is a key motivating factor for pupils (Broadfoot, 1996; Black and Wiliam, 1998; Weeden and Winter, 1999; Wilmot, 2005).

Assessment is a definitive part of the National Curriculum (Johnson, 2007) and, as such, school-based assessment is seen, not only as a way of assessing learning, but as a means of communication between schools and wider society (Broadfoot and Black, 2004). One might believe the results of assessments to be confined to the publication of league tables, but they are in fact communicated using a range of evidence such as an informal discussion at parents' evenings; a school report; or the results of a nationally recognised qualification. National Curriculum assessments represent academic accountability which, as Gipps (1994) noted, is now inextricably linked with public spending and consequently, assessment is a "high currency performance task" (Wragg, 2001:2). This complex relationship between the public domain and relatively closeted environment of individual schools underlines a need for clarity because:

The results of any particular assessment device must be accorded 'trust' with the public if the consequences are to be acceptable (Broadfoot and Black, 2004:9).

Assessment has become a part of the public domain and it is necessary to set appropriate standards with which to measure the information that results from the process. It would seem sensible that good standard setting consists of a construct that is both appropriate to the assessment and flexible enough to cope with the inevitable changes that will affect assessment policy and practice over time (Wiliam, 1996). It is change which makes standard setting a difficult task because, as Cresswell (1996, 2002) points out, the curriculum is frequently reconstructed to reflect contemporary values about what should be learned; it is therefore not easy to compare assessment standards over time because they are based on a constantly changing curriculum. Nevertheless, assessments have to be created and Stobart (2003:2), amongst others, suggests that we do this by asking 'Is this the knowledge that we need?' Once we have an answer to this question, the process of assessment construction can begin.

3.3.2. Setting targets

Chitty (2004) claims that there is a growing obsession with achieving targets, particularly the five A*- C grades at GCSE, and this leads teachers to divert their resources to enable them to meet these targets. This was noticed by David Bell, former Chief Inspector of Schools, who argued that there was a need to change teachers' perspectives because

(o)ne of the things the Inspectors find when they visit schools is that an excessive focus on targets can actually narrow and reduce achievement. They also find teachers, heads and local authorities for whom targets are now operating more as a threat than as a motivator, more as a stick than as a carrot... (Bell, 2003: no page).

If policy makers and schools choose to ignore such warnings, then school-based assessment will remain constrained by a limited framework which encourages teachers to rehearse pupils for assessment scenarios, in effect, 'teaching to the test'. A measurement-focused approach is "a barrier to the implementation of constructivist methods of learning" (Shephard, 2002:230) which leads pupils to conclude that the purpose of education is no more than the acquisition of 'good' examination results (Davis, 1999).

The practical issues of cost and resources can further constrain teachers in state-maintained schools (Yarker, 2005). Head teachers, teaching staff and examinations staff are forced to make choices about which subjects to offer in their curriculum based upon the qualifications available at the end of the course of study. The awarding bodies are also able to exert some influence over the decisions that schools make about particular subjects and, due to the way in which a specification is constructed, even how the content is delivered. In many schools there is enthusiasm for certain subjects, but not the expertise or funding needed to administer the subject because funding has to be used for payment of examination bills:

Schools now cite the cost of exams as one of their highest annual expenditures with some head teachers claiming money which should be spent on teachers or resources has had to be diverted (Yarker, 2005:4).

The preoccupation with cost is a serious issue because not only does it suggest that secondary schooling has become examination-focused; it could lead to a narrowing of the curriculum based upon the selection of what will be the most successful qualification-led courses: those which will result in a high number of A* to C grades at GCSE. This is due in no small part, argues James (2000), to the educational policies of both New Labour and the Conservatives before them. The Thatcher and Major governments were interested in the use of education to develop economic goals and, whilst Blair's policies from 1997 onwards were also concerned with securing economic growth, they were also keen to raise standards in education because

(t)he knowledge economy of the twenty-first century demands that workers have higher levels of cognitive and interpersonal skills (James, 2000:355).

As assessments became an established part of state education, so they led to the creation of what Gipps (1994:3) calls 'certificated assessments': qualifications which summarised the knowledge and understanding of a particular subject. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, pupils attending elementary schools in England received a labour certificate²⁴ at 14 and this later evolved into the School Leaving Certificate. The 1944 Education Act established state intervention across all levels of education and the introduction of an assessment for selection, the 'eleven-plus'²⁵. Whilst the system of using an examination for selection purported to offer "parity

of esteem”, in reality it segregated children (Lowe, 1988; Chitty, 2004). The eleven-plus was based upon Intelligence Quotient (IQ) tests²⁶ and comprised verbal reasoning, intelligence and mathematical tests; critics maintain that the eleven-plus forced teachers to pre-select pupils to prepare for the exam and, in doing so, undermined the educational opportunities of many thousands of pupils (Pring, 1989; MacKinnon *et al*, 1996; Aldrich, 2002). During the 1950s and 1960s the popularity of the IQ-type assessments for selection waned and, as progressive educational techniques were introduced, so beliefs about assessment began to change:

We hope that attention can now be diverted from the design of tests for the purpose of selection to the development of tests suited to changing curricula. Although tests are useful, there is some danger of spending too much time on testing, at the expense of teaching (Department of Education and Science, 1967: 422).

The introduction of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) launched the National Curriculum and the GCSE as the main form of assessment at the age of 16. The ERA was not restricted to a school leaving examination; it introduced assessment as integral to the new National Curriculum: pupils would be tested regularly and the results used to measure school performance²⁷. A new system of assessment-focused education claimed to offer schools shared standards, but the framework was both costly and complex, and as Pring (1989) notes:

Secondary schools do remain very much constrained by examination. Examinations are the most effective way of influencing the curriculum. They establish objectives – what is to be learnt (Pring, 1989:13).

Assessments might be perceived as useful in determining or guiding curriculum content, but as Barnes *et al* (2000) argue, we need to question the idea of ‘the assessment cart leading the curriculum horse’:

Is assessment an engine of curricular change or simply one manifestation of a larger change in the curriculum, the educational climate, or the wider culture? (Barnes *et al*, 2000:625).

The shift in focus to the measurement of school performance leads to what Slee (1998:67) calls the “marketisation of schooling” through the publication of league tables and the “reinforcement of punitive school cultures to enforce compliance”. He argues that not only does this system

constrain the schools – labelling them as good or bad or indifferent – it erodes a central tenet of a liberal education: the rewarding of individual talent. According to Wragg (2001:17), the perception of assessment in relation to education in English schools has become tainted by association with high stakes testing, national tests and the creation of league tables: “a practice which is based upon the belief that competition foments improvement”.

In a study which investigated the ‘leverage’ properties of assessment upon the curriculum, Barnes *et al* (2000) found that assessment had a profound impact on teachers in both positive and negative ways. Teachers believed that the assessments were motivating and focused their planning for lessons, but some admitted that subjects which did not lend themselves to traditional or summative methods of testing were omitted from classroom instruction. This finding strengthens the argument advanced by Broadfoot (1998: ix): assessments can bolster the control of practice, but they can also stifle the development of newer subjects particularly those which are perceived as less academic – which, at present include citizenship.

The National Curriculum has increased the role played by teachers in the processes of assessment (James, 2000) and there are now five parallel systems of assessment commonly used:

- Standardised tests for diagnostic and selection purposes.
- National assessments – at 7, 11 and 14 years.
- GCSE and GCE examinations – nationally recognised qualifications.
- Vocational and occupational assessments – in more specific work-based contexts.
- Informal assessment – day-to-day appraisal of school-based learning. (Black, 1998:16)

It is unsurprising that the acquisition of qualifications has become a high priority for pupils and teachers alike because our attitude to education is focused upon the end product:

In most Western contexts the outcomes of schooling are linked to a pupil’s life chances (Macdonald and Brooker, 1999:177).

3.3.3. Approaches to assessment

School-based assessment tends to fall into two categories: *summative* and *formative*²⁸. The former provides an overall judgement of achievement which is reported for the purposes of judging a pupil's performance at the end of a course of study. Summative assessments can be defined as those used to report achievement at particular times in the school year, for example a GCSE examination or an end of topic test. These types of assessment are usually measured against a set of criteria and are often moderated or subject to a quality-assurance procedure of some kind (Broadfoot, 2007).

In contrast, formative assessment is “planned as an integral part of teaching and is orientated to supporting progressions in learning” (Broadfoot, 2007:11); formative assessment is a dynamic process within which the pupils are given the opportunity to develop their learning through written and/or oral feedback (Sadler, 1989; Harris and Bell, 1990). Formative assessments comprise a more descriptive approach to the analysis of performance and do not necessarily provide the pupil with a numeric score or a grade. All assessments are agents to assist in the raising of standards (Black, 1998), but much controversy is courted over which *type* of assessment is most proficient at attaining this goal. There is now, as Stobart (2005:3) suggests:

A wide recognition of the key theoretical elements of formative assessment, for example the importance of teacher and learners having a shared standard, of learning as an active process and of the centrality of feedback in ‘closing the gap’ between current and desired performance (Stobart, 2005:3).

Research conducted by Smith and Gorard (2005) found that contrary to the historical ideal championed by The Task Group on Assessment and Testing (1987),²⁹ that “formative assessment should provide feedback and feed forward”, very little of either is used in schools. Smith and Gorard (2005:22) concede, as do similar studies (see for example, Carless, 2005), that such fundamental changes in assessment, most notably the introduction of formative methods, take a long time to embed and require substantial commitment from both teacher and pupil. These issues are discussed in more detail in the next sections.

Commitment to formative assessments on the part of education policy-makers appears to be growing. Whilst the primary focus of assessment in schools is still based upon the summative examinations which lead to nationally recognised qualifications, there is significant interest in the development and embedding of formative assessments within school curricula. The Secondary National Strategy (DfES, 2005; 2006) encourages teachers to pay attention to the individual needs of their pupils and to set them appropriate educational targets which can be linked to high-quality assessments. The Strategy guidance materials (see for example, DfES, 2005b) suggest an increased emphasis upon assessment and the need for more explicit reporting of pupil progress through a range of assessment techniques including observation, group work and pupil discussions as well as through the more 'traditional' summative testing routes. Assessment for Learning (AfL) is central to the Secondary Strategy and whilst there are difficulties apparent in its introduction, the Government seems determined to continue encouraging schools to try developing a wider range of assessment techniques. The support for AfL on the part of policy makers is transparent in the citizenship curriculum; for example, the findings of the House of Commons Select Committee (2007) recommend an extension of recommended assessment practice at key stage 3 and praise the updated guidance from QCA (2006) which has a substantial section dedicated to Assessment for Learning. The Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF - formerly the DfES) also reveals a similar commitment and presents AfL as the first option for teachers on its information pages (www.teachernet.gov.uk/). However, as reviews of the Strategy have found (see for example, OFSTED, 2008), there are still significant deficits in assessment practice and this suggests that changes in assessment practice, particularly the use of richer, formative techniques, take time to embed and to become effective.

Assessment *for* learning (as opposed to assessment *of* learning) is advocated by the King's College Assessment Group³⁰. Their work suggests that pupils of low-ability achieve better when formative approaches to learning are employed to assess achievement in their school work; this, in turn, has a knock-on effect of raising pupil motivation (Black, 2000; 2005). Whilst the potential for raising pupil achievement might be realised by a more formative approach to

assessment, in reality “it is rare that assessment is organised with the learners as the main audience for the results” (Harris and Bell, 1990:94). Thus, a balance has to be struck between what is necessary to assess and what is practical in terms of delivery. Because assessment is such an integral part of education, teachers are duty bound to spend time reviewing which approaches are appropriate for their pupils and they sometimes need reminding that assessment is not a hurdle; rather it can be an invaluable aid to teaching and learning. Such a strong emphasis is placed upon achieving well in school that assessment has become something which is feared:

Assessment has taken on such an importance in schools since the last few years of the twentieth century that the very word is saturated with associations of formality, anxiety, ritual and impending doom (Wragg, 2001:1).

Wragg adds that there *is* value in assessment and whilst it is easy to dismiss the entire process as faulty, it should be remembered that the principle of assessment is for the verification and maintenance of standards and these can be applied to a range of educational contexts. Assessments of knowledge, of understanding and of competence are vital to our progress as individuals and as a society.

There is little doubt that assessment has a profound effect upon the way in which pupils relate to their experience of school-based learning. Broadfoot (2007) argues that assessment is perhaps the most defining element in school life today and it is imperative that the *way* in which a mode of assessment is used enhances the pupil’s learning experience:

All assessment has the potential to be formative as well as, or instead of, summative; to be developmental in its impact, rather than simply being concerned with some aspect of the communication of information, contributing instead directly to the learning of either individuals or institutions (Broadfoot, 2007: 109).

This part of the review has considered the historical developments of assessment, how they have contributed to the types of assessment in use today. It has introduced the commonly-used methods of formative and summative assessments. Our current education system is reliant upon assessment for comparative standard setting, for monitoring of pupil progress and to help plan

teaching, but it is evident that these are not a straightforward processes. The next section will examine some of the common issues in assessment practice which make it problematical.

3.4 Issues in assessment

This section considers specific issues which are prevalent in assessment for teachers and pupils in schools. These include issues which are recurrent themes in this research: validity; the value of qualifications; teachers' concerns about assessment; and issues which affect pupils' perceptions of assessment.

3.4.1. Validity and value

The answer to the question "what is a valid assessment?" is relatively straightforward. Messick (1989) provides a refined definition of validity in an educational context:

Validity is an integrative evaluative judgment of the degree to which empirical evidence and theoretical rationales support the adequacy and appropriateness of inferences and actions based on test scores and other methods of assessment (Messick, 1989:13).

It is about understanding of 'fitness for purpose' and relevance to the assessee and the assessor; for example we would not ask a trainee accountant questions about the history of art in their accountancy examinations because it would serve no purpose for either party. Rather we would aim to draw on the examinee's knowledge of accountancy in order to assess their understanding and competence; this would assist the assessor in making a judgement about the candidate's relevant abilities.

Assessment validity requires the construction of appropriate tests (or other measures) integral to an overall learning strategy so that they are effective methods of measurement and appraisal (Crooks *et al*, 1996). The validity of an assessment does not refer simply to the technical quality of a test (or other mode); it also encompasses the processes which pupils experience during

assessment and which are vital to the enhancement of their education. Teachers need to concern themselves not only with answering the question posed by Stobart (2003:2) on page 81, “Is this the knowledge that we need?” Perhaps they should be mindful of *outcomes* of an assessment and ask “What consequences might we expect?”

The validity of assessment is based upon the efficacy of structure, content and reliability of the method. However, as research in this area reveals, assessments often fall short of these criteria. For example, many assessments reflect the cultural values of the test developers and are therefore biased. Some assessments, claims Broadfoot (1996) when she refers to the eleven-plus, might be used as a means of educational social control. When assessments are presented as ‘fair competition’ they can become what Stobart (2003:3) describes as “a mechanism for mass control in which the system is geared to reward those with cultural capital.” Lambert (2000) presents a similar analogy in which the use of IQ testing is given as an example. Such tests, he claims, are biased in recognition of certain types of intelligence and therefore prevent certain pupils from achieving. Assessing in this way does not engender a culture of equality and fairness; instead it labels pupils as ‘failures’ or ‘successes’ and it creates educational divisions. Broadfoot (2007:29) adds that whilst public examinations were originally introduced in England to “encourage the development of meritocracy in which ability, rather than breeding, determined occupational success”, it is doubtful that they really have extended opportunities for socially disadvantaged young people.

Broadfoot believes that far from being a neutral, educational procedure, assessment is in fact a powerful means of structuring society by controlling who has access to certain occupations and to higher education. Therefore, whilst an assessment might have a robust structure, its reliability could be faulty, or as in Lambert’s research, the content could be biased rendering it invalid. Stobart (2003) claims that we will never achieve *fair* assessment, but he argues that we can make it *fairer* simply by being more open about its inequalities. If we are willing to discuss the ways in

which cultural and social influences affect assessment, then the aim should be to create an honest and effective dialogue between the learner and assessor which should lead to improved practice.

Since 2002 when the so-called ‘A level crisis’³¹ erupted (McCaig, 2003), there has been a media-led debate regarding the efficacy of qualifications and accusations of ‘dumbing down’ are commonplace (Warmington and Murphy, 2003, 2004; Philips, 2006; Woodhead, 2006; Paton, 2007). The value of the ‘high-stakes’ assessments has been in question for some years and there is compelling evidence to suggest that ‘gold standard’ GCSEs and GCEs were losing their ‘shine’ some decades ago (Cox and Boyson, 1977; Baird *et al*, 1999; Murphy, 2003; Newton, 2005). There is now an annual ritual which comprises the national media questioning the value and difficulty of public examinations when the results are published in August (Marshall, 2005; Newton, 2005). And, as Lloyd (1999: xi) notes, most people have an opinion: “Every press pundit, every bar-room pundit, knows that standards have fallen.” Indeed, I often find myself having to listen to the opinions of others who claim that “exams were much harder in my day...” But anecdotes aside, the media response to the published results has really been no different year on year:

During the slow summer months the publication of exam results assumes a particular weight since they ‘guarantee’ stories of national relevance (Warmington & Murphy, 2003:3).

In 2006, the increased level of pupil achievement at GCSE and GCE levels saw the media primed and ready to report a wave of criticisms from education professionals, describing the exams as “no more than a school leaving certificate” and “prescriptive...pupils are taught precisely how to play the system” (Smithers and Taylor, 2005). A reporter from *The Guardian* newspaper claimed that his experience as “one of the assessed generation” made it ‘easy’ for him and his peers to pass examinations (Whipple, 2005:3). Whilst there is research relating to preparation for taking examinations (see for example, Capel *et al*, 2005), there is, as yet, no evidence to suggest that pupils are definitely ‘better’ test takers *per se* due to their experiences of national testing or consistent examination experience. What should concern us is the value that

can be attributed to tests and qualifications that appear to be passed with what is perceived as ‘ease’ as long as the pupils (and their teacher) understand how to play the game.

Newton (2005) questions whether such criticisms of the system are an accurate and complete picture of public examinations, and if they are, then we need to ask the following question: “Do rising pass rates reflect a genuine improvement in pupil attainment, or does this indicate a lowering of standards?” Newton suggests that poor understanding about what ‘error’ means in relation to examinations is to blame:

Unfortunately, the nature and prevalence of assessment error appears not to have been widely recognised. Numerous high profile reports on assessment arrangements in England have recommended that much more should be done to improve the public understanding of our national assessment systems (Newton, 2005:458).

When ‘error’ is used in the context of assessments it might refer to the assessment process, the assessment content, marking procedures, the awarding of grades and so on. However, when ‘error’ is used by the news media, it usually highlights problems in the marking or awarding processes. Assessment is a complex process and as Warmington and Murphy’s (2002, 2003) research demonstrates, a balance between media reporting to a wide audience and the dilution of the complexity of the examining process is difficult to strike. Newton’s (2005) research examined media reporting of examination error and found a public expectation of ‘perfect’ performance on the part of awarding bodies and teachers, but this was juxtaposed with a steadily rising culture of blame when pupils did not get the results that they had hoped for. The findings reflect an earlier study (MORI and CDELL, 2003) where the notion of performance and mistakes in public exams was rated by the general public as being extremely serious and the media depiction of mistakes was regarded as ‘truth’ when reports were frequently lacking in accurate detail.

Research by QCA found that parents had retained a high level of confidence in the awarding bodies although some believed that new examinations³² were of a lower standard than former public examinations (QCA and MORI, 2003). But this does not mean policymakers should be

complacent as Murphy (2003) states; there is a need for honesty about what we can actually measure:

We need to face up to the fact that you cannot measure educational progress quite as accurately as say, global warming. Exciting as it would be to get daily, weekly, monthly and yearly readings from some kind of educational barometer, this is not going to happen (Murphy, 2003).

The annual pressure to reconstitute and then present exam ‘news’ has a place in what should be public discussions of education. Newton (2005) proposes that some action must be taken to improve public understanding of these ‘high-stakes’ assessments in order to maintain public confidence in the system.

Tensions arise not only from the way in which qualifications and other certificated assessments are regarded; there are issues with perceptions and the context of the internal and external assessments conducted in English secondary schools. *Internal* refers to those which are administered by teachers: classroom tests, observations or a piece of GCSE coursework, whereas *external* assessments are those set and marked outside of the school – for example national tests or a GCE AS examination paper. The conflicts which have arisen as a result of the tensions between the two modes of assessments were noted by the Director of QCA:

The balance between internal and external assessment and the use of internal assessment in high-stakes summative assessments are two recurring themes in educational discourse in this country (Boston, 2006: no page).

Wilmot (2005:2) argues that a teacher’s understanding of the relationships between different types of assessment is often confused and that this confusion can be compounded by unclear policy: “If the primary goal is to harness a powerful tool for learning then internal assessment is essential”. He goes on to argue that if the primary goal of assessment is to maximise reliability, then using internally administered methods is not necessarily rigorous because teachers might not always consider the outcomes as of the same importance as those of the externally assessed equivalents. Tierney (2006) argues for better use of the results of *both* types of assessment. He

claims that the use of data resulting from external assessments, namely the national tests, is under-developed:

The use of data for accountability purposes is well-established, but a more potent role exists for low stakes data as a source for educational improvement. The 'official' descriptions of assessment defend its use as a means of checking whether pupils have achieved particular levels of skills, knowledge and understanding (Tierney, 2006:241).

As James (2000) notes, the emphasis on performance has been encouraged through the highly prescriptive nature of the National Curriculum and this has developed a perspective within which pupils have become performance-orientated rather than learning-orientated. Such attitudes should be of concern, because as Tudor (2001) cautions, curricula can be diluted and edited so that they become uniform and pedestrian; she fears that citizenship's individuality might be subsumed in debates about the value of its assessments. Thus, in the context of citizenship, the strong marketisation of education resulting in promotion of high-stakes testing appears to be at odds with the aims of the subject. The curriculum aims to develop knowledge and understanding of citizenship and this can be assessed using summative assessments. However, it could be argued that knowledge and understanding are the minimal or passive concepts of citizenship (see Figure 2.1) and, if the curriculum is to bring about a significant change in our political culture (QCA, 1998) and to educate for responsible citizenship (QCA, 2007), it needs to develop active citizenship skills. A tension is apparent because the culture of valuing high-stakes assessments focuses pupils' interest on the qualification (Stobart, 2003; Broadfoot, 2007) rather than promoting the value of *what* they are learning. There has, argues Jerome (2002), long been concern within the teaching profession that such attitudes would affect citizenship in particular. When assessment is focused upon a competitive end, for example getting a job from a particular qualification, it appears that pupils are not so much interested in what that assessment communicates to them about their learning; rather they simply want to know what the assessment can do for them within the culture of competition (Harland, 2000).

3.4.2. Assessment competence

Research conducted by Wilmut (2006) for the QCA suggests that teachers are reluctant to use a range of assessment techniques. Their results are comparable to other studies examining the same issue (see for example, DfEE, 1992; Barnes *et al*, 2000; Cowie, 2005). Findings suggest that teachers rely heavily on summative tests and admit that they lack confidence when using formative assessments. This is problematical because the exclusive use of summative techniques narrows pupils' learning capabilities and can constrain the way in which a curriculum is delivered. In addition, taking a measured, normative approach to assessment "emphasises competition" (Black and Wiliam, 1998:7) and this often has the effect of reducing motivation so that pupils lose interest and, more importantly, lose confidence in their ability to learn (Remedios *et al*, 2005).

Black *et al*'s (2005) research described in *Assessment for Learning: putting it into practice* reminds teachers that change is not easy; it requires a significant shift in personal pedagogy and practice. Their findings are the combined results of many years of researching the efficacy of formative assessments and through working with teachers. They explain that this is a process of change rather than the administration of a cure:

We did not say 'teach in this way and you will raise standards', but rather 'think about these ideas, what changes do you see them making to the way you act in the classroom?' We do not think such wholesale and lasting changes would have occurred if we had been able to provide recipes (Black *et al*, 2005:98).

They draw on the work of Allinder (1995) who proposed that teachers with a clear understanding of their pedagogy were generally more confident of their abilities and more likely to experiment with methods of assessment, particularly formative approaches. The strength of attachment to summative assessments reflects the English educational culture of measuring by a grade or mark rather than attempting an alternative method of feedback to improve pupils' work. But, as Tierney (2006) argues, time is carefully allocated in schools and traditional, summative techniques are

more time-efficient. Therefore, a plan to make substantive changes to practice needs careful consideration and Tierney considers this a complex process:

Changing assessment practice is not simply a matter of increasing teachers' assessment literacy through professional development workshops, but a more comprehensive process that requires a conceptual shift for stakeholders (Tierney, 2006:259).

Indeed, as Tiknas and Sutton (2006) claim, the process of change is confounded by deep-seated misunderstandings about assessments. A substantive framework of training is necessary for formative techniques to become embedded both within a school culture and within the minds of teachers and learners. Sometimes, teachers expect pupils to be hostile towards formative commentary about their work, but this expectation is usually unfounded (Weeden and Winter, 1999:11). In Weeden and Winter's research, interviews with pupils demonstrated that a combination of written and verbal feedback was considered valuable, but the receptiveness of pupils was reliant upon the format and content of the feedback. Pupils complained that comments such as "very good" were of no more use than receiving a single mark, but when they were able to discuss how the work might be improved they felt increased levels of motivation. In contrast, research by Gijgels and Dochy (2006) found formative feedback to be a 'turnoff' for pupils. Participants in their study demonstrated a preference for what they term 'surface' (summative) assessment as opposed to 'deeper' (formative) measures and pupils were critical of formative feedback for coursework for a qualification. This tension is problematical for teachers because, whilst compelling evidence such as that provided by Winter and Weeden (1999) and Black *et al* (2005) indicates that formative assessment is a richer seam of information for teaching and learning, the implementation or even trialling of such methods can meet with resistance from pupils.

A study by Graham (2005) found that teachers are torn between encouraging pupils to achieve well in 'high-stakes' assessments and building on the more intuitive classroom-based tests of achievement. He claims that teachers need to be able to manage a drastic pedagogical shift in the planning of their lessons, starting with the selection of a topic for teaching and then working from

the ‘bottom upwards’, i.e. structuring the assessment and then examining the appropriate content to relate to that assessment. In common with other studies of the use of these methods, (see for example, Sadler, 1989; Black and Wiliam, 1998; Assessment Reform Group, 2002; Black *et al*, 2005), it would seem that successful use of formative assessments is a continuous dialogue with pupils so that they are involved in the planning and delivery.

The effort required to make significant changes to assessment practice is not a trivial undertaking, but Smith and Gorard (2005) found a further problem: teachers are also uncertain about making changes to established systems of assessment for fear of reprisals from parents, their school or the wider media. Using an experiment where they removed marks from pupil work and gave them written notes about their work, Smith and Gorard found that this assessment approach was unpopular because pupils could not easily compare their work. In addition, their parents were critical of formative feedback; they wanted to know ‘how well’ their child had done. Undoubtedly, a grade or a mark is much easier to comprehend; they are a part of the educational tradition and pupils and their parents are used to them (Massey *et al*, 2003; Lord and Jones, 2006). The issue of graded assessments compared to written formative feedback is problematic for the assessment of citizenship. Not all aspects of the subject lend themselves to summative assessment techniques, yet pupils (and some teachers) are reluctant to believe this and accept alternative means of appraising achievements.

3.4.3. Pupils and their assessments

Tuesday is not my favourite day because there is testing to see how clever everyone is and how can you see that from a test? That’s the thing about school; they might only test you for one thing, i.e. maths or spelling type things... not the really important things... (Childs, 2005:11).

So says Clarice Bean, the protagonist in a popular series of books for young girls. Childs’s book does not attempt to state an academic case regarding assessment, but Clarice’s narrative is an illustration of the fact that school pupils are not only conversant with the purpose of testing; some

of them, at a young age, can question its validity. The traditional, paternalistic view of pupils does not always acknowledge that pupils understand the education system of which they are a central part (Aries, 1996). Most pupils do understand their function as learners interacting with a prescribed curriculum which they view as “relevant to passing exams, getting grades and as a passport to their next steps” (Lord and Jones, 2006:27). A clear objective, usually a qualification at the end of their course of study, becomes a strong motivational force for pupils because, as Cotton (1995) argues, it clarifies their reason for studying the subject. Once the aim of learning is clear, then pupils are more motivated to learn and their involvement in the learning process becomes stronger. Lambert (2005) believes that we can increase motivation by increasing pupil involvement:

There is a need to orchestrate a form of pupil involvement in assessment which is capable of empowering them (Lambert, 2005:141).

Encouraging achievement through assessment is important because there is a correlation between high achievement and positive self esteem (Gipps, 1994). Teachers can use assessment to enable pupils to construct a more positive perception of their education and this can be further enhanced through developing pupils’ involvement in the assessment process. Self and peer assessment techniques are staple constituents of formative methods and their use helps to strengthen motivation because pupils are given some control over how their work is appraised and graded (Weeden and Winter, 1999; Black *et al*, 2005; OFSTED, 2006). These methods are not problem-free mainly because pupils are not always adept at assessing their own work or the work of others. Pupils can find it difficult to be objective if they are marking the work of friends and, as Harland *et al* (2003) found, pupils underestimate their success and do not necessarily feel that they have achieved well when they actually have. Self assessment or “self-confrontation” (Wragg, 2001:68) is not straightforward to administer and pupils take time to become adept in its use. Wragg recommends the construction of checklists to ensure that self assessment is rigorous and valid; he suggests that peer assessment is also difficult to undertake:

It cannot be assumed that every pupil automatically knows how to make an appropriate and factually correct response in all circumstances (Wragg, 2001:71).

Such feelings and responses might be reduced by exposing pupils to further management of their assessment. If we can remove the prevailing culture of assessment as something that is done *to* the pupil (Lambert, 2005) and replace it with the active proposition that assessment is done *by* or *with* the pupil then we afford pupils the opportunity to develop greater confidence in the role that they play in their own learning.

A problem which adversely affects pupils' motivation to learn is that of assessment anxiety. This does not refer to the natural anxiety that any of us feel about a one-off, but important event such as taking a driving test; it is a deep-seated anxiety about all school-based assessment *per se*. Black (2001:129) explains that pupils create expectations which are based upon prior experiences of assessment and, if negative, these can become obstacles to learning. Pupils can be motivated to develop and extend their learning where assessments are used to help them do so, but as Lord and Jones (2006:47) found, "pupils are often anxious about national tests throughout their school career". It is the multiple roles of national tests which have been found to lead to increased pressure upon teachers who, often unwittingly, pass on their own anxieties about performance to their pupils (Massey *et al*, 2003; Harlen, 2007). Some pupils, particularly high achievers, like tests and actively enjoy examinations (Richardson *et al*, 2002), but other pupils experience debilitating levels of anxiety which affect their performance (Cizek and Burg, 2005). The contemporary culture of measurement means that pupils are often afraid of being labelled. This is a valid concern because, as Broadfoot and Stobart (2002) point out, several issues are interacting: the scores in their tests might be wrong so they risk being mislabelled and consequently their educational chances might be impaired. Lord and Jones (2002) contend that pupils' notions of assessment are affected by the educational culture in which they are raised and therefore it is crucial that their experiences of school-based assessment give them a valid picture of their abilities.

In this section some of the key issues relating to assessment in schools were discussed. The validity of assessment is vital to its success, not simply as a means of measurement, but in

ensuring that it is appropriate and fit for its intended use. Bias and error are both key factors in determining the validity of assessments and, as discussed, these factors can be misunderstood. The ways in which certain assessments are both revered and criticised has caused problems within the education sector and there are ongoing reviews of examinations which lead to qualifications. The extent to which teachers feel competent in assessment processes can affect assessment delivery; this reveals a tendency to favour summative over formative techniques because the former are easier to deliver. Pupils are becoming more experienced ‘assesseees’ and some question the importance afforded to testing in the current system. When concerned with the practicalities of assessment, pupils explain that they are used to getting a grade and are less likely to be content with a written commentary of their work. This leads to the questions “Are teachers keen to assess citizenship and do they think such assessments are valuable?” If the teachers are perhaps sceptical of ‘experimenting’ with different types of assessment, then “What do their pupils think?” – “Is citizenship really considered a ‘valuable’ subject?” The assessment-heavy system of education has resulted in schools and pupils who prefer defined measures and there is widespread concern when subjects cannot be tested or graded in a traditional way. It is likely that the teachers’ and pupils’ perceptions of such subjects will be adversely affected.

3.5. Summary of the chapter

This chapter was provided as a guide for the reader into the structure of assessment of citizenship and the contemporary arguments regarding assessment of ‘difficult’ or ‘unassessable’ subjects. Whilst schools acknowledge that differing approaches to assessment are required for citizenship, there is some opposition to reframing existing pedagogies in order to meet the challenge. Research from the longitudinal studies conducted by NfER (Kerr *et al*, 2003; 2004; 2007) reveals a continual problem with assessment of citizenship in schools. The key issue appears to be lack of clarity about what is required and when this is combined with a lack of confidence in delivery the results are not conducive to successful assessment practice.

The framework for assessment has become stronger and is set to change in September 2008 when an eight level scale for attainment will be introduced at the end of key stage 3 (QCA, 2007). However, in the meantime schools have to decide whether they can boost the status of the subject with the use of GCSE qualification and how they might introduce this to an already crowded timetable. Offering a GCSE is popular and citizenship is one of the fastest growing subjects for this qualification. There is a need for the qualification to develop because a short course is viewed as less valuable than a full course; only offering citizenship as a short course is undermining its value. However, from September 2009 the introduction of a full course GCSE might impact upon some of the issues related to having only a short course qualification available at this time.

Assessment serves a range of functions in schools and is an integral part of the National Curriculum in England. The influence of the Victorian ideas of testing both teachers and pupils has remained a part of education to this day and provided a foundation for public interest in education and public accountability on the part of schools. Target setting and the omnipresent discussion of educational standards ensure that the majority of school-based assessment uses methods which measure and test to provide grades or marks. There are a wide range of assessment methodologies available for use in schools, but the emphasis remains upon the traditional, summative techniques whereas the more progressive, formative approaches continue to be less popular. However, making changes to assessments requires significant commitment on the part of schools, not only from individual teachers, but there are practical issues such as cost and resource development and supporting all of these variables is not necessarily achievable.

Assessment is problematic; from the technical issues which surround validity and test structure, to the issues such as assessment anxiety suffered by over-tested school pupils. Media reporting of high-stakes assessments has distorted the public perception of some of the most important qualifications and this, in turn, has had a detrimental effect upon pupils and their sense of achievement. There are competing values in assessment which reveal tensions between how a test will improve a pupil's work and how it might provide them with a qualification to use in the

development of their career. As the literature of both assessment and citizenship illustrates, there are conflicts related to the politicised nature of both assessment (a tool for social domination) and the curriculum for citizenship (a means of inculcating values about how to be the ‘right kind’ of citizen). Teachers and their pupils have to learn how to manage and deal with these significant issues in order to negotiate an appropriate and functional system of delivery and assessment which both user-groups find effective.

The success of citizenship is dependent upon the development of a strong framework for assessment. This will require a significant change in the way in which schools view assessment and pupils will have to adapt to modes of assessment better suited to the subject. Policy makers agree that new approaches to assessment need to be adopted, but there is little commitment in actually supporting teachers to make these changes. Further resources, training and financial support are necessary for this to happen and these are outstanding issues for schools (House of Commons Select Committee, 2007).

3.5.1. Developing the research questions

Through the review of the literature (Chapters 2 and 3), four particular elements: citizenship, citizenship education, assessment and assessment of citizenship, have been explored. Within these elements, the most significant areas for research were identified: curriculum assessment, rationales for assessing, modes of assessment, the value of assessment and the impact of assessment. Consideration of these issues resulted in five questions which guided the research (see page 18 above):

- (a) How is the citizenship curriculum for secondary education in England assessed?
- (b) What is the rationale for assessment of citizenship education in secondary schools?
- (c) What is the rationale for the modes of assessment currently used for citizenship?
- (d) How is assessment of citizenship perceived and valued by its primary users – teachers and pupils?

(e) What impact does assessment have upon the implementation of citizenship within a school's curriculum?

The literature (Chapters 2 and 3) provides a more informed understanding of the contexts of assessment in citizenship and enables the construction of a clearer picture of how policy is implemented and how policy makers are responding to practice in schools. Significant literatures relating to the citizenship curriculum and its assessment are those which have investigated its introduction and considered its efficacy: the studies from the NfER (Kerr *et al*, 1999; 2002; 2003 a b c; 2004; 2005; 2007), OFSTED reports (2002; 2005; 2006) and the findings of the House of Commons Select Committee (2007). These literatures provided some answers to the research questions and offered a framework to help guide the empirical study. In relation to questions (a) – (c), the QCA documentation provides clear guidance for delivery, and the findings of OFSTED and NfER demonstrate that there are issues relating to the delivery of citizenship that are having an adverse effect upon practice.

When considering question (d), it is useful to acknowledge that assessment practice has been recognised as problematic by all of the longitudinal studies and research, but the findings of the House of Commons Select Committee (2007) reveal the need for a significant change and it is their use of evidence from professionals in education, citizenship organisations and the education community which have led to the revised curriculum from 2008 (QCA, 2007). Findings from the most recent NfER studies (Kerr *et al*, 2007) show that despite recent policy drives – including the Secondary National Strategy - towards more participatory teaching, learning and assessment methods, traditional methods of assessment are still proving popular in schools. The NfER study includes discussions with pupils, but their conversations about assessment are limited and focus upon pupil comprehension of the methods of assessment. In terms of this research, the questioning needed to go further in order to answer question (d) because whilst pupils' perceptions of assessment delivery are important, in order to determine its contextual importance we need to understand the value pupils place upon it. None of the longitudinal studies discussed

in the literature have specifically considered how assessment impacts upon the value of citizenship, the subject, as question (e) asks. Whilst their findings note the difficulties inherent in the poor use of assessments and the problems associated with assessing citizenship, links between assessment and delivery remain untouched and are a topic for investigation.

The next chapter introduces the methodology adopted for conducting the empirical study. I discuss methods in educational research and describe how appropriate methods were selected to collect data for this study. I consider issues such as working with children, conducting research in schools and the ethical concerns relating to the study. The process of data collection – via a questionnaire survey and interviews – is also described together with information about data analysis.

It should be noted that due to a particular timescale, the literature search for this research ended in the autumn 2007 as the final draft was written up. Therefore the literatures which have emerged since that time are not necessarily included or reviewed as the study used those which were available at the time of data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the development of the research from the early draft of the research proposal to the final study. It comprises a discussion about educational research together with consideration of the selection of appropriate data collection methods for use in this research. Finally, a description of the data collection is presented together with a summary of the pilot studies and the main empirical research study.

Central to this research are the ways in which teachers and pupils perceive and value the assessment of their work in citizenship; it was my aim to collect and then compare their experiences with the official policy recommendations for assessment. Previous experience of conducting research in schools has taught me that there is always more than one ‘story’ about practice, and storytellers include: the policy makers who present guidance and advise teachers about practice; the teachers who have to implement and develop the practice; and the pupils who are the recipients of the policy and practice.

Under the prescribed terms of the National Curriculum, one might expect teachers to simply ‘follow a recipe’ for implementation provided by the policy makers, but it is not as straightforward as this because schools are unique societies and, as such, have individual ways of conducting their ‘business’ (Jackson, 1968; Hargreaves, 1999). In acknowledging the individuality of each school’s environment, I had to accept that the teacher and pupil populations would be diverse and distinctive participants in the research. Their contributions would not reveal a uniform approach to educational practice, because as Griffiths (1998) states, “it is neither wise nor realistic to expect that the behaviour of human beings be consistent or predictable”. And, as I established in Chapter 2, education is not a static endeavour and consequently any research conducted within the sector will reflect the continual emergence of “new knowledge” and differing modes of practice (Gillam, 2002:2).

The empirical study in this research was designed with several aims: to find answers to the research questions; to investigate the delivery of assessments; to consider pupils' and teachers' perceptions of the subject of citizenship and the subsequent assessments; to record and discuss their stories about their experiences. In addition, I had some expectations that data resulting from an empirical study would provide a deeper understanding of how the current framework for assessment is impacting upon curriculum delivery. It is these foci for the empirical study which are making a unique contribution to the knowledge about citizenship and its assessments in secondary schools in England.

Many institutions and individuals are conducting research in the area of citizenship education; some work focuses strongly upon the contribution that citizenship makes to issues such as multiculturalism and diversity (Osler *et al*, 1995; Osler, 2000; Osler and Starkey, 2006), whereas other work focuses on policy issues or curriculum delivery (Davies *et al*, 1999; Deakin-Crick *et al*, 2004, 2005; Leighton, 2004; Faulks, 2006). However, the most notable continuous research is the National Foundation for Education Research's (NFER) longitudinal study discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 (see, Ireland, 2006; Kerr *et al*, 2003; 2004; 2005, 2007). Some areas of the NFER's research overlap with aspects of this research, for example, investigations about content delivery, the types of assessment employed and pupils' opinions about the subject. However, their study does not address the specific questions proposed in this research (see below).

4.1. Answering the research questions

There are five questions which have guided this research:

1. How is the citizenship curriculum for secondary education in England assessed?
2. What is the rationale for assessment of citizenship education in secondary schools?
3. What is the rationale for the modes of assessment currently used for citizenship?
4. How is the assessment of citizenship perceived and valued by its primary users?

5. What impact does assessment have upon the implementation of the citizenship curriculum?

Finding answers to each question necessitated the use of a range of data collection techniques. Initially, a review of policy literature was conducted so that I was familiar with the ways in which the subject was delivered and assessed. The documentation for this study was from a range of sources including:

- The Department for Education and Skills (DfES)
- The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA)
- Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED)
- Awarding Bodies (AQA, Edexcel and OCR)

However, whilst much can be gleaned from the policy documentation, the policymakers' view is only one side of the 'story'. Direct communication through interviews and a questionnaire survey with the curriculum end-users (teachers and pupils) seemed to be the obvious way to elicit a fuller picture of what is actually happening in schools.

Having decided that the way to answer the questions was to use a combination of techniques, the next issue was to decide upon appropriate means of eliciting information, a methodology, which would generate data from which I could extrapolate answers. Constructing the methodology is crucial to the validity of the research:

It [methodology] provides a rationale for the way in which a researcher goes about getting knowledge. It is more, therefore, than an account of techniques. It provides reasons for using such techniques, in relation to the kind of knowledge that is being collected, develop or constructed – these different terms fit different theories of knowledge (Griffiths, 1998:35).

4.1.2. Developing the investigation

It was my intention to conduct a study which could contribute to policy makers', teachers' and to a certain extent, pupils' understanding of assessment of citizenship. The study is a piece of *educational* research, an important distinction which is made by Whitty (2006) who explains that there is 'education research', the broad term, and '*educational* research' as the narrower field of

work specifically geared to the improvement of policy and practice. Hammersley (2004:140) observes that the sphere of educational research encompasses “overlapping communities of researchers practising very different approaches.” We might find philosophers, psychologists or sociologists attempting to answer the same questions and, as Hammersley claims, while the difference in their approaches is not problematical in itself, it is important to focus upon the *appropriateness* of methods used to derive answers. In common with much educational research (see for example, Griffiths, 1998), this study is not situated in one theoretical framework; rather my perspectives and ideas span more than one. Hence, it was important to be sure that the planning of an appropriate methodology was applicable to the values relevant to the educational practice under investigation (Clark, 2004). In short, it was necessary to ensure that the methods selected were suitable for use in schools and with teachers and pupils.

Educational research and education as a discipline rely upon the tools, techniques and insights of many different disciplines within the social sciences. Therefore, conducting research within these areas is complex and can be controversial (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). As we saw in Chapter 2, schools are unique organisations; the teachers and pupils have their own educational and life histories which are integral to the development of each school’s culture and ethos. Understanding this uniqueness is vital when selecting methods for research.

Hitchcock and Hughes claim that the most productive approach to educational research in schools is a qualitative one, but they do not discount the use of positivist methodologies to support and extend the researcher’s understanding of the school environment. This view is shared by Griffiths (1998:35) who contends that educational research is further complicated by the fact that it is: “...always on/for/with other people – and getting knowledge on/for/with other people is a complex matter.” Appreciating the complexities of conducting educational research requires that the researcher be sensitive to the differing values and opinions of participants as well as acknowledging that objectivity is something of a holy grail. For example, the selection of a topic to be investigated, data interpretation and the discussion of results all involve choice, subjective

interpretation and analysis and it is impossible to be one hundred percent objective in the process of research. It is possible to reduce bias or be aware of our own value judgements, but attempting to eliminate them completely is not possible because the foundations of our personal theories are shaped from the start by “...assumptions, interest and purposes” for conducting any research (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998:3).

This study evolved from a personal quest to investigate the use and perception of assessments in citizenship which was based upon a genuine concern about the perceived value of the subject and how assessment might be affecting its delivery in schools. Therefore, I consider the primary motivation for this research to be what Shipman (1997:8) characterised as “human concern to give meaning to events”; it is driven by a *need* to understand what is happening within the context of citizenship assessment and what those involved in the process understand from their experiences.

4.1.3. Selecting methods

Contemporary approaches to methodology have emerged from two distinct paradigms: *Positivist* (referring to traditional assumptions of natural science) and *Interpretive* (investigating and/or explaining the way that human beings understand the world). The prevailing view of social research is often limited by attempts to set the two aforementioned paradigms in opposition. Some researchers, for example Shipman (1998), argue that trying to compartmentalise social research enquiry in this way results in an “impoverished view” of any data or ideas. Other researchers (see for example, Robson, 2004; Cohen *et al*, 2000) propose that these competing ideas are also situated in opposing notions of social reality: namely, subjectivism and objectivism. According to Burrell and Morgan (1979, cited in Cohen *et al* 2000), the subjectivist and objectivist standpoints are influenced further by three things: ontology – assumptions or beliefs about the nature of being; epistemology – adoption of a philosophy of knowledge; and human nature – beliefs about the relationship between human beings and their environment. The

investigation and selection of appropriate methodological approaches requires the researcher to acknowledge that the “contrasting ontologies, epistemologies and models of human beings will demand different research methods” (*ibid*: 6). Thus, when the researcher takes an interpretative perspective, the ontological assumption is that social reality is the product of individual consciousness and therefore knowledge is subjective and based upon the experience of the individual. Consequently, people interact with and continually reconstruct their ideas and beliefs about their environment. An appropriate methodology for this approach is necessarily more personal and qualitative. However, from a positivist viewpoint, the ontological assumption is that knowledge is objective and is obtained by the individual and consequently, we might expect a person to be reactive to and possibly conditioned by their environment. In such circumstances, the methodology involved follows a sequential, deductive structure with the aim of revealing explanations for what is observed which will usually result in data of a quantitative nature.

Of the two prominent social science paradigms, this methodology falls with the interpretive sphere with its direct concern with exploring the lived experiences and perspectives of citizenship teachers and their pupils. An interpretative framework is more generally associated with qualitative research methods; however as this research was to include collection of data which were necessarily quantitative, a mixed-methods approach was employed. My research interest was an investigation of a particular aspect of educational practice in which I have had a professional involvement and perceive to be of some concern. Therefore, the bulk of data collection and analysis techniques reflect a largely qualitative approach in that the research was designed and conducted to be receptive to the voice of others with the purpose of extending knowledge about practice. In addition, I wanted to explore some of the practical issues surrounding assessment practice in schools, i.e. frequency of delivery, methods employed and participants’ attitudes; therefore the research also employed a quantitative approach which would provide a means of identifying significant variables (e.g. age or gender of pupils) that could further inform our understanding of pupil attitudes towards assessment.

Within education, and other fields of social research, a continual, underlying tension exists between the advocates of quantitative analysis and in opposition, the qualitative faction (Nau, 1995, Olson, 1995; Higgs and McAllister, 2003; Pring, 2004). Critics argue that the differences between the two approaches are often over simplified with opposing groups falling prey to unwarranted generalisations. Quantitative research may be labelled as sterile or uninspired, and qualitative research criticised for its dependence on the subjective interpretations of interviewers (deVaus, 2004). When presented in such a stark way, it might seem that the differences between the two approaches are irreconcilable, but such an attitude is unhelpful. The quantitative approach is often described as *scientific*, aiming “to measure, test, discover, predict, explain, control, identify cause-effect relationships” (Higgs, 1998:146). Whilst the scientific paradigm has an important role to play within the context of educational research (Goldstein *et al*, 1996; Schagen *et al*, 2003), it lacks what Higgs *et al* (1998:31) describe as the personal, or “me” factor.

Critics of qualitative methods sometimes claim that it is a “softer” approach to research, that quantitative methods are somehow harder, more rigorous (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). However, the idea of qualitative data being softer than its opposite number implies a less rigorous approach and suggests that these types of data are somehow less valid than their ‘harder’, quantitative contemporaries. It is possible for the two methods to be combined successfully if one takes a different view of the tensions. Olson (1995:1) believes that the arguments between the two approaches are “clouded by two problems: lack of coherent definitions and the focus of discussion on methods instead of on the basic assumptions of these two stances.” Whilst the debate between qualitative and quantitative methods remains heated, there are of course recommendations for how to combine the two ways of working to ensure the validity and integrity of the research is in no way compromised. Indeed, Burke Johnson *et al* (2007:112) claim that

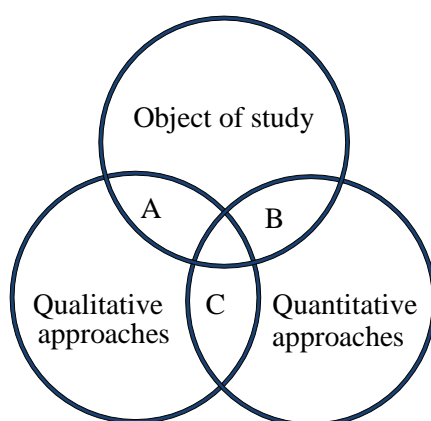
(m)ixed methods research is becoming increasingly articulated, attached to research practice, and recognized as the third major research approach or research paradigm.

Their recent publication focuses upon the definitions and practice of mixed method research and is based upon analysis of techniques which emphasise the ways in which these allegedly opposing methods can support one another in the research process. There are a growing number of researchers who support the use of mixed or multiple methods because they find the resulting data to be richer and ‘thicker’, see for example, Nau, (1995); Higgs and McAllister, (2003); Oancea, (2005).

Combining different methods is sometimes referred to as *triangulation*, and defined as “locating a true position by referring to two or more other co-ordinates” (Denscombe, 2003:133). There is also the suggestion that triangulation of techniques is suitable when an “holistic view of educational outcomes is sought” (Cohen *et al*, 2001:115). Robson (2004) agrees that it is particularly useful when considering educational practices that are thought to be controversial. In the context of this study, my goal was to uncover what teachers and pupils thought about citizenship and its assessment in schools. By using multiple methods of data collection it is possible to view the different perspectives on the topic. By reviewing the ‘realities’ constructed from these multiple reference points, it is possible to determine where an approximation of what participants thought about citizenship and its assessments might lie. Some researchers refer to this as taking a “Rashomon Approach³³” (Wolff, 2001) whereby the different perspectives, or stories, are told and then reviewed as a whole to ascertain where aspects overlap, run parallel or diverge.

Bourner (1996:9) argues that triangulation provides a useful “process of checking.” However, Gorard and Taylor (2004:46) contend that assuming triangulation of two or more methods will act as a means of ‘checking up’ on data is dangerous. They argue that methods should be complementary and that we should be seeking to see not only where methods overlap, but also what lies outside of the overlapping areas. They use a Venn diagram to describe this in Figure 4.1 below:

Figure 4.1: A combination of complementary approaches



Gorard and Taylor (2004:47)

Their argument is persuasive. Some results are hidden in A and B and they are relevant only within the contexts of those approaches, but once we add C the combination of all data is more powerful and the range of evidence increases. I considered using a mixed approach to this research with the goal of creating a range of opportunities to verify the consistency of answers between pupils and teachers and also to ensure that the richness of the data was not diluted by ignoring or sidelining potentially valuable findings. I expected that schools might each interpret the delivery of the curriculum in a different way and therefore, an appropriate method of collecting data would make allowances for these differences. Indeed, the results of a questionnaire survey might lack the personal, storytelling content of an interview, but they provide a coherent picture of different issues. The results of the univariate statistical analyses together with a linear regression can be used in tandem with the results of the interview data to build a framework for developing knowledge about the research topics. Methods can be combined to provide a mutually supportive framework for data collection and Denscombe (2003) sums this up well:

They [methods] are different and they are suited to some situations better than others, yet in another way, they can come to complement each other (*ibid*:132).

Those who are sceptical of the value of triangulation (see for example, Silverman, 1985), argue that using multiple methods does not enhance the validity of the resulting data. Indeed, they suggest that mixing methods simply muddies the water and argue that data derived from multiple sources tells an inconsistent story and can never result in the production of a “complete” explanation of phenomena. However, the value of using a multi-method approach is what some researchers (Bourner, 1996; Griffiths, 1998; Denscombe, 2003) describe as the application of different methods to confirm information and verify lines of enquiry. That said, Denscombe cautions that multiple-methods are not going to offer definite proof of a particular issue; rather there is an enhanced assurance that the findings are connected via the different methods. These connections allow the researcher to “address different but complementary questions within a study” (Robson, 2004:371). Using a mixture of techniques is more likely to yield results which better represent one’s subjects. The use of mixed methods research reveals a philosophy which is chiefly pragmatic (Burke Johnson *et al*, 2007):

Mixed methods research is, generally speaking, an approach to knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints (always including the standpoints of qualitative and quantitative research) (*ibid*: 113).

Whilst there appears to be an unending supply of advice about appropriate methods for research and analysis, the one aspect which remains constant is the need for researchers to remain open-minded because “[one] cannot be sure which direction the research might take” Gillam (2000:2). There are many skills which require development and consideration when conducting research. It is necessary to become a craftsperson and to understand that all methods of research have both strengths and limitations. The *process* of selecting appropriate methods is therefore an inescapable and integral part of research practice (McNiff, 2003).

In this study, the data drawn from the questionnaire survey and interviews provides a view of attitudes to assessment of citizenship which is both general *and* detailed. However, I acknowledge that caution must be exercised when making generalisations from such data. There are two aspects which might be viewed as contentious: firstly, a small-scale piece of research

(like this one) is limited in the claims it can make about the whole population and secondly, the so-called tension between quantitative and qualitative methods. Silverman (2003:99) warns that it is unwise to believe that data, gathered in different contexts, can suggest that there is “one overarching reality”. I do not believe that one can make such a claim, but would agree with Ritchie (2003:44) who claims that whilst multiple methods of data collection do not guarantee a single, *absolute* result, the collation of “multiple perspectives” of data can provide a fuller picture of the phenomena under review.

4.1.4. Choosing methods

The purpose of the empirical investigation was to compile a picture of citizenship assessment delivery and then to focus attention on a smaller number of schools in order to discuss their perceptions of the subject and assessments in greater detail. A survey using questionnaires was proposed initially. It is acknowledged in the literature (for example, de Vaus, 2004; Fink, 1995) that whilst the results of the survey might provide a description of the characteristics of a set of cases, surveys cannot necessarily describe the *context* of events. I was content that a questionnaire survey would be appropriate for reaching a national sample of schools, but another method of data collection was required to construct a picture of the subtle differences inherent in the delivery of citizenship assessments between schools.

Selecting a further method for data collection in a smaller number of schools than that needed for the survey offered a range of possibilities. The case study is a popular means of researching in educational settings (Cohen et al, 2001:182) because it can provide highly detailed information about a specific situation. Conducting case study research for this project could have provided a series of unique portraits of practice which might usefully have addressed the research questions. Case studies may also allow the researcher to develop a broad understanding of an initiative involving a range of different actors and employing a number of data-collection techniques, for example interviews, observations or focus groups. In terms of investigating a whole-school

approach to citizenship assessment, this might have been an appropriate approach. It could have provided a very detailed and comprehensive data set about a small number of schools.

However, it should be noted that case studies have recognised weaknesses. This study aimed to review school practice in light of policy direction and to investigate the ways teachers interpreted the curriculum and how their pupils perceived these interpretations. Had a case-study approach been adopted, the numbers of schools involved would have provided a very limited range of examples of practice and therefore, the potential for any broader understanding of differences and similarities in practice would have been severely restricted. There are also practical issues relating to the use of case studies. For example, there is always the danger of observer bias (Nisbet and Watt, 1984) and what Walker (1983) describes as a tendency to ‘embalm’ practices in one context, when in educational settings they are always changing. In addition, case studies require a significant commitment on the part of the school to allow the researcher time to observe and investigate many aspects of the institution. As Kim (2004) found, schools are often reluctant to arrange visits from a researcher (particularly a PhD student) because they involve extra organisation and planning. Essentially, a case study would require more from teachers when compared to a one-off interview and consequently, could be more difficult to arrange. A smaller number of participants could potentially limit the extent of the findings. For example, the researcher making case studies of just two or three schools might find that they all use similar methods of delivery, all assess in a particular way and all inculcate a particular citizenship ethos through their lessons. Drawing on a larger number and wider range of schools increases the chance of discovering both significant similarities *and* significant differences.

This research aimed to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of as wide a range of schools as it is possible for a single researcher to manage and therefore interviews were also considered as an appropriate method to use in tandem with questionnaires. An interview is “a conversation with purpose” (Robson, 2004:228) and as Dilley (2004:128) claims:

Interviews allow us to investigate, in critical ways, our respondents' comprehensions of their experiences and beliefs – as well as our own.

There are no studies discussing the specific issues that I was investigating and, as described earlier in this chapter, to answer my research questions necessitated some kind of communication with pupils and teachers. I wanted to give pupils and their teachers the opportunity to talk face-to-face with me about their experiences *and* to discuss their opinions. Burns (2000) suggests that in order to encourage the *participant* to reflect upon their experience, the researcher must adopt a “naturalistic approach” to the research with a focus on qualitative analysis. He claims that within such an approach, “social reality is regarded as a creation of individual consciousness with meaning and the evaluation of events seen as a personal and subjective construction” (*ibid*: 2).

The first research question: (1) How is the citizenship curriculum for secondary education in England assessed? suggests that there would be multiple answers to this question; the policy documentation would comprise the outsider's ‘story’ whereas each school would offer a different, insider's perspective. A qualitative approach would be used to review curriculum documentation and both qualitative and quantitative methods could be employed to investigate teachers' and pupils' beliefs and understandings. There are aspects of curriculum delivery such as content and application which are more likely to yield subjective discussions whereas the question of how many times an assessment is delivered or how often a class is held are more quantitative matters.

Question (2) What is the rationale for assessment of citizenship education in secondary schools? and (3) What is the rationale for the modes of assessment currently used for citizenship? required a wholly qualitative approach as they were investigating the reasons for decisions made about the delivery of assessments. It is only through reviews of policy documentation and interviews with individual teachers that answers to these questions could be reached. Question (4) How is the assessment of citizenship perceived and valued by its primary users? required a mixed-method approach as perspectives and attitudes were being investigated and these could be elicited through

interviews where respondents provided unique, reflective discussions and, through the use of a survey to assess attitudes to particular issues.

The hypothesis which underlies question (5) 'What impact does assessment have upon the implementation of the citizenship curriculum?' is that the use and delivery of assessments might have some impact upon curriculum delivery. It also suggests that teachers might have to adjust the ways in which they deliver the citizenship curriculum and its assessments. A qualitative method was used as it was felt to be most appropriate for gathering individual perspectives on curriculum delivery and assessment issues.

Based upon a review of the methodological literature and consideration of fitness for purpose, the methods selected for use in this study were: interviews and a questionnaire survey. The process of conducting interviews and a questionnaire survey are presented in subsequent sections. Before the research was conducted, the participants had to be selected and this is discussed in the next section.

4.1.5. Sampling

The empirical study comprised research with teachers responsible for the co-ordination of citizenship and pupils in Years 9, 10 and 11 in a sample of Local Authority (LA) maintained secondary schools in England. The decision to select only maintained schools was guided by the fact that since 2002, all maintained secondary schools have been obliged to offer citizenship within the framework of the National Curriculum. All English maintained secondary schools have to assess pupil achievements and create a record for parents at the end of the Key Stage 3 course of study. The same is not true at the end of Key Stage 4; schools are allowed to choose whether or not to provide a written record of achievement at the end of Key Stage 4 and some offer an external specification together with the opportunity to sit for a qualification (QCA, 2001). Whilst many schools outside of the maintained sector offer courses in citizenship or civic education,

there is no guarantee that they do. It was decided that all non-maintained schools be excluded from the sample.

Answering the question: “How many pupils and teachers should I give my questionnaires to and how many should I interview?” is important, but as Cohen *et al* (2000:93) state, “There is no clear-cut answer” because an appropriate sample size is dependent upon the purpose of the study and the nature of the population under scrutiny. Whilst this advice appears to be sketchy, they do offer a set of standard questions for determining a sample size:

- Representativeness: how representative of the population will the sample be?
- What is the chosen Research Style? A survey style usually requires a larger sample (particularly if inferential statistics are to be calculated), whereas when interviews are used, a smaller sample size is expected.
- What constraints are there on time, manpower and budget available for the research?

(Cohen *et al*, 2000:93).

4.1.6. Questionnaire sample

Much of the advice regarding sampling indicates that a sampling frame is drawn up prior to selection to ensure a valid sample that increases the quality of the research (Denscombe, 2003; Silverman, 2003; Gorard and Taylor, 2004). For this research the following frame was constructed to include:

- Maintained secondary schools.
- England only (citizenship is not taught to the same curriculum in Wales and Scotland).
- Schools must be open and not expected to close within the timeframe of the data collection.

The sample was created with the help of colleagues in the Statistics Department of the Department for Education and Skills (www.edubase.gov.uk) who assured me that a random sample using the above criteria could be derived from their database of English schools. Their only question was regarding the size of the sample. TThe sample size was decided upon by using

the sampling table drawn up by Krejcie and Morgan (1970, cited in Cohen *et al*, 2000). This approach bases sample sizes upon population sizes. If a population is small, then the sample size will represent a large proportion of that population; and as the population size increases, so the proportion of cases included in the sample reduces. At the time of selection, the maintained secondary school population in England was 3409 (DfES Statistics Gateway, 2004) and, based on Krejcie and Morgan's table, a sample size of 346 was calculated (they suggest a sample of 346 from a population of 3500). Diamantopoulos *et al*, (2000) warn the researcher to consider the effects of non-response (particularly with mailed questionnaires) and recommend, where possible, adding more participants to a sample. Bearing this in mind, a further 54 schools were added to increase the total sample to **400**.

Due to constraints imposed by time and costs³⁴, not all schools were sent the pupil questionnaires. Instead, a multi-stage sampling technique was employed and a sub-sample of 45 schools was taken at random from the 400. I used a randomised selection function in SPSS statistical software to select the 45 schools which would receive questionnaires for pupils.

4.1.7. Interview sample

When selecting schools to approach for interviews, I decided to use a convenience sample (Robson, 2004) based upon two factors: geographical status and contacts within the education sector. My selection methods for the interviews were controlled by two factors: finance and time. I did not have unlimited funds to cover the cost of making school visits and there was a limited time span within which interviews could be conducted.

School details were collected from LEA online databases and contacts from PGCE Citizenship courses at three English universities. In addition, I approached colleagues/friends currently teaching in secondary schools and asked them to advertise the research to citizenship staff. These combined methods were successful and a total of 18 schools across England agreed to participate

in the interviews. Initial contact was made with a letter to the citizenship coordinator (see Appendix C) and this was followed up within one week by a telephone call. Table 4.2 below shows the interview schools and the method of recruitment.

Table 4.2: Interview Schools

Geographical Region	Derivation of Contact	Number of schools
Sussex	Three schools that could not participate in the pilot study.	3
London	Three schools recruited through personal contacts and via an INSET training day.	3
Kent	Two schools recruited through citizenship PGCE course contacts.	2
Cornwall	Six schools recruited through personal contact – snowballing approach used to encourage participation.	6
Lancashire/Yorkshire	Four schools recruited through citizenship PGCE course contacts.	4
TOTAL		18

4.2. The interviews

Hughes (2002:167) suggests that there is no one “best” way to conduct an interview; rather the researcher should aim to select the methods most appropriate to their goals. There are several different methods of interviewing: *structured interviews* which use a set of fixed questions; *semi-structured interviews* which use questions to guide the interview, but allow for changes in direction; and *unstructured interviews* which are guided by themes, but have no pre-set questions (Robson, 2004). This research used the semi-structured approach so that the conversations were focused, but not constrained by an unyielding framework of questions. My prior experience of interviewing children also led me to select this method in the knowledge that young people often go ‘off topic’ in interviews, but these moments can be enlightening and sometimes result in unexpected perspectives which enrich the data. This approach to interviewing results in what Mason (2002:64) refers to as the “construction of contextual knowledge”. Interviewees were encouraged to discuss their perceptions and opinions of assessment and citizenship in relation to

concrete examples – their lessons and school experience – and it is the use of familiar contexts which “facilitates their ability to discuss the subject” (Measor and Woods, 1998:72). In addition, the use of open-ended questions encouraged what Kvale (1996) describes as a *constructivist model* of eliciting information from interview participants. Within this model, participants were encouraged to speak freely and construct narratives that framed their experience of the citizenship programme and its assessments.

Interviews are very time consuming and costly both in terms of delivery and the subsequent transcription. To undertake interviews in 18 schools across the country required travelling over a thousand miles in the course of five months. The transcription took six weeks to complete. Dilley (2004) notes that interviews are often criticised for being unfocused and too flexible. However, I was able to preserve the focus of the research by ensuring that the interviews were carefully guided by the research questions, while allowing participants to elaborate on themes and opinions. Another concern for researchers conducting interviews is bias, because “interviewing involves a relationship between interviewer and interviewee that imposes obligations on both sides” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995:2). Researchers have to be aware that they can experience bias in relation to a range of factors such as age or gender. Again, previous experience of interviewing had led me to be aware of this danger and to ensure that my interviewing techniques, and subsequent reflection upon the data, would acknowledge where bias might occur. For example, from the experience of the pilot study, I expected that boys would generally be less receptive and enthusiastic during interviews than their female peers. I considered ways to reconstruct ‘boy’ interviews that would make them more talkative; however on realising that this was likely to bias the interviews, I kept the existing interview schedule and used it for both boys and girls. Rubin and Rubin (1995) argue that interviewing is more than a set of practical skills; it requires the construction of a philosophy which underpins the researcher’s approach to learning. This was useful advice to consider when preparing to conduct interviews and helped me to appreciate the degree to which the experience of the interview might affect both myself *and* the interviewee.

The introduction to the interview is a crucial step in capturing the attention of the participants and ensuring that they feel as comfortable as is possible in an interview situation. As described above, the interviews were guided using an interview schedule (see Appendix D). When interviewing pupils, the discussion began with a few ‘warm-up’ questions about current school work and what they knew about the study. The importance of their own opinions and ideas was stressed at this point, as was the anonymity of the data. Participants were informed that this was a new study and, as yet, very few people have asked pupils about their opinions of having to study citizenship, thus, their participation in this study was of great importance. This approach was structured carefully due to the age of most respondents (modal age = 14) because there is a need for adolescents to be treated in an “adult” way in the research process (Keats, 2000:105). Discussing the subject and purpose of the research in an adult way underlined the value of the participants’ contributions and the majority were enthusiastic about being able to speak freely.

Teachers were interviewed individually and the pupils were interviewed in pairs. Voluntary participation and the fact that the interview setting was a familiar one – such as a classroom or office - helped to reduce anxiety. Interpretation of interviews with children is often difficult because, as research suggests, adults frequently assume an understanding of dialogue and “interpret what children say on the basis of adult expectations, which may differ markedly from those of children” (Walford, 1998:98). During the interviews, I was careful to ask pupils to explain or repeat answers which I felt were ambiguous or difficult to interpret. In addition, notes were made of particular expressions and behaviours, because as Measor and Woods (1998:73) note:

Emotions and non-verbal cues are not so easy to research as opinions, and yet we fail to give a picture of the individual’s world or reality if we ignore them.

Taking all of these issues into consideration, the approach to transcription and preparation of interview data had to be undertaken with considerable care to ensure that an accurate representation of the discussions was presented for analysis.

It was important to appreciate, as Greig and Taylor (1999:131) assert, that listening to a “child’s voice” and understanding her perspective is both similar to *and* different from interviewing an adult. There are many factors which need to be considered when interviewing young people and by reflecting upon my previous experience of interviewing school-aged children, it was possible to construct a framework for effective interviews with the aim of eliciting ‘high-quality’ information from participants without making the interview experience onerous. There is a relatively limited body of advice regarding interviews with children and it seems that popular interview literature (see for example, Gillham, 2003; Cohen *et al*, 2001) usually contains perhaps just one or two paragraphs relating to the intricacies of working with children. The most helpful guide was Fraser *et al*’s (2004) collection entitled *Doing research with children and young people*. When planning interviews, I drew on a combination of personal experience, advice from more experienced colleagues and the results of the pilot study for guidance.

Pupils were interviewed in pairs. Teachers were asked to select pupils who they knew would work together during the interview process. A paired method for interviewing was selected because when alone, pupils can often feel intimidated by the interviewer, but in pairs they are more likely to offer each other support (Kellett and Ding, 2004). I have found that pupils are often effective prompts for one another and are quick to remind peers of errors or omissions. There is, of course, always the danger that a more confident individual will dominate the discussion (Greig and Taylor, 1999). This is particularly prevalent in mixed gender interviews where boys tend to “hog centre stage” (Denscombe, 2003:168). Therefore, it is important that the interviewer ensures all participants have equal opportunity to participate (Keats, 2000). In this research, teachers usually selected same-sex pairs; this was not at my request, but as three teachers explained, when they asked for participants, it tended to be friends who volunteered together. This did not seem to affect the dynamic in the interviews and, whilst I was aware of the potential for conflicts (Robson, 2004: 285) between participants, this was not an issue. Young people are actually *more* likely to contribute to the interview process if they have a familiar peer (seen as an ally) with whom to discuss questions (Greig and Taylor, 1999).

Nonetheless, interviewing can present difficulties as a response-elicitation tool, particularly when working with young people. The interviewer might assume that answers to her questions are both detailed and true, and interpret the interview data as 'fact'. However, some methodological literature, (see for example Hayes, 2000) indicates that this is often unlikely to be the case. It is all too easy to ask leading questions or use a tone of voice that pupils will take as a signal for the kinds of responses that might be expected of them. Teachers too, are not immune from giving answers that the researcher might want to hear and several were keen to hear my thoughts on assessment before the interview had begun. I was careful to keep comments or answers as non-committal as possible to minimise my influence on their responses. In addition, teachers were cautious about answering some questions. On three occasions I was asked about confidentiality, usually something like: "This really is confidential isn't it; I won't be named?" Teachers usually asked this before launching into criticisms, either of their own school's practice or of government policy, and it was encouraging to note that they trusted me to the extent that they could be so openly critical.

There are practical issues which researchers must address when working with young people. To avoid any initial delays in the process, I had a standard criminal record check completed with the Criminal Records Bureau and made a point of letting the participating schools know that I held the certificate. Another practical issue is the layout of the interview room; as Keats (2000:92) states, "it is important that the room is laid out to suit the interviewee rather than the interviewer" because this makes the space less threatening and more familiar. Before each interview, I attempted to arrange chairs in a triangle to ensure that the situation did not feel too formal and so that the space between myself and the pupils or teacher was not 'blocked' by a desk or other furniture. Teachers were advised that they could not attend pupil interviews because it would be likely that their presence would bias pupils' responses; however, in school Q this was not possible because the school policy did not allow visitors to remain alone with pupils. Pupils were told that their interviews were confidential and that the teacher would not be told what they had said; it was hoped that this would help participants to speak more freely about their personal

opinions during the interviews. Obviously, in school Q, I could not tell pupils that their teachers would not hear their comments, but I asked them to consider the teacher ‘invisible’ and to try and be honest in their responses.

Clark (2005:298) proposes that educational research is “a transaction between persons, not a causal/empirical, law-governed manipulation of processes”. It is therefore vital that such research is conducted in a way that is supportive of the participant and every effort was made in this regard during the interviewing process.

Conducting research with and for schools has inherent responsibilities, the most important of which is the creation of dialogue that is beneficial to both sides (St Clair, 2005). To facilitate and maintain a friendly exchange for interviews, it was agreed that the schools would be kept up to date with the progress of the research. As a form of ‘payment’ for participation I am compiling a document of shared ideas and relevant findings from the research that will support development of assessment practice for citizenship; this will be sent to all schools who participated in the interviews.

4.2.1. Transcription of interview data

The process of transcription appears to be straightforward. The researcher takes the recording, listens to it and writes down what is said. The transcription is read with the recording playing at the same time and alterations are made and/or typographical errors corrected. But, as Mason (1996) points out, this is not simply a process of listening and repeating; the analysis of the data *begins* with the transcription. My decision to use an iterative process of analysis (Neuman, 2003) meant that annotations and a framework of themes were under construction in tandem with the actual transcription from digital media to hard copy. Moreover, the transcription process is one of compiling and developing the stories told by the participants. Kvale (1996) advises the researcher to distance herself from the data by re-framing the results within a particular methodological or

theoretical stance. This is particularly useful, because transcription can induce feelings of drowning and being able to step back and consider the data from alternative viewpoints helps to anchor both the research *and* the researcher.

A sample of transcriptions and recordings were given to two researchers (unconnected with the project) each of whom conducted a portion of transcription themselves and then independently checked some of the transcripts I had made (two examples are provided in Appendix E). This exercise in inter-rater reliability is commonly used and recommended for checking the validity of transcriptions (Silverman, 2003). However, there can be no wholly accurate transcription of an interview because this assumes that what is recorded and transcribed is a “mirror of reality” (Nisbet, 2006:13). I had to concede that the results of the transcription are not a singular truth; rather they are a composition of personal accounts which together suggest beliefs and ideas about participants’ experiences of citizenship assessment. Understanding this made the data analysis less daunting and it was easier to accept that it is likely that the results, rather than simply answering one’s questions, might raise further questions (Gillham, 2002).

4.2.2. Analysis of interview data

The interview data were analysed by a procedure of *Successive Approximation* (Neuman, 2003) to identify similarities and differences across respondents’ accounts. This method of analysing interview data was used successfully in a study by Warwick *et al* (2004) who conducted interviews asking teachers about their attitudes to curriculum implementation and the introduction of subjects into school curricula. Successive approximation is a systematic way of analysing interview data and constructing a picture of participants’ stories (Neuman, 2003). The method works as follows:

- Before the interview data (evidence) are analysed, a framework of concepts relating to the research is constructed.
- Each interview transcript is written up and then read several times to identify and frame key themes present in the responses.

- The emergent themes are compared to the framework of concepts. New and/or emerging themes are identified and recorded.
- New concepts are created by abstracting from the evidence and this process is repeated until the framework of concepts/themes is reconstructed to approximate the full dataset.
- A final set of themes, issues and topics are checked to identify gaps and/or misrepresentations; this data set comprised the basis of the findings from the interviews.

Successive Approximation was successful in this research because the process of multiple reviews of the data provides a series of pictures which reflect the richness of qualitative datasets. It is technically possible to trawl the datasets indefinitely, but time and financial constraints are powerful indicators of when the process should end. After nine months of analysis, I decided to end that phase of the research in order to begin writing up.

4.3. Ideal Types

A continual problem for social scientists compared with their natural science counterparts, is the fact that they are dealing with thinking and unpredictable human beings rather than inanimate objects which can, to a much greater extent, be controlled (Slattery, 1985). A chemist can obtain pure chemicals for use in her experiments, but it is not possible for a social scientist to acquire a comparably ‘pure’ human being. One way to overcome this problem is by the use of *Ideal Types*. Ideal types are a means of modelling the key characteristics of social life; they are concerned with the subjective elements which are unique to the actions of human beings (Bennett, 1976; Lawson and Garrod, 2004). The point of ideal types is that they are *not* an attempt to describe reality; rather, they involve the researcher making considered selections from the data to create what is a ‘pure’ model: one which is an exaggerated abstraction of reality. Ideal types do not actually exist, but instead provide a benchmark against which real subjects or phenomena can be compared.

The skill necessary for creating effective ideal types is derived from the objective analysis of what are subjective actions – the behaviours and phenomena related to human beings – in the case of this research, the behaviours and attitudes of the teachers. Ideal types include only the most distinctive characteristics and combine them to create what Best (1987:64) describes as a “puppet” which the researcher employs to “experiment through manipulation”.

The sociologist Max Weber first presented ideal types in an essay on *Objectivity* (1904) where he described them as:

An ideal portrait of the processes resulting from “strictly rational” actions in a competitive “free market” economy. The construction has a “utopian” character, in that it is obtained by conceptually heightening certain aspects of reality (Ringer, 2000:111) NB. Words in speech marks are quoted from Weber’s original text.

Thus, ideal types provide a useful way of helping us to understand and describe some of the relationships we suspect are evident in our research. Weber used bureaucracies as his example:

The ideal type is a general description which maps out the form of some social scientific concept. It gives the criteria which any object must satisfy to some extent if it is to count as an example of the content. Thus, ideal type bureaucracy maps out a general form of a bureau; any existing bureau conforms to that ideal to a greater or lesser extent (Dowding, 1995:8).

Dowding is underlying the fact that the type does not provide a ‘correct’ or ‘true’ representation of bureaucracy, but it enables us to address some of the answers to our questions about it.

Ideal types facilitate the construction of hypotheses and then link them with the conditions which created the phenomenon, or with the consequences that follow from its appearance. They are an established feature within the sociology of education and commonly used models of ideal type teachers resulted from analysis of teaching styles conducted during the 1960s and 1970s (Bennett, 1987). Data gathered from the results of the Plowden Report (1968) resulted in the creation of teaching styles which evolved into the ideal types of: “Formal-traditional”; “Informal-progressive”; and “Exploratory-didactic” (Bennett, 1976, 1987; Best *et al*, 1983). Within an organisational management context, Doty and Glick (1994) describe the use of ideal types and

propose that they are a prerequisite of successful typology creation. They suggest that the inclusion of ideal types has the following three implications for typological theories:

1. First, the ideal types represent organizational forms that *might* exist rather than existing organizations. Thus, empirical examples of ideal-type organizations are expected to be very rare or nonexistent.
2. Ideal types are complex phenomena that must be described in terms of multiple dimensions.
3. Ideal types are not categories of organizations. Instead, each ideal-type organization represents a unique combination of the dimensions used to describe the set of ideal types. Actual organizations may be more or less similar to an ideal type, but they should not be assigned to one of the ideal types in the typology (Doty and Glick, 1994:233).

With this in mind, I returned to the data from both the interviews and questionnaire survey and I reconsidered teachers' attitudes to specific issues: beliefs about citizenship, subject delivery, pupils' values, selection and application of assessments, and the values of assessment. Using these perspectives I was able to construct some Ideal Type teachers of citizenship (Chapter 7).

The creation of the types is a highly subjective process and, to check their validity, it was necessary to seek independent judgement as to the degree to which they corresponded to actors' perceptions of the role. I sent copies of the types to all of the teachers who participated in the interviews³⁵ and two leaders of PGCE teacher training courses in citizenship. They were asked to read the types and then answer the following questions:

- Do you see aspects of yourself in any/all of the types? If so, please say which type and try to describe which aspects are familiar to you.
- Is there one type which you particularly relate to? If so, please say which and try to explain why.
- What is your overall reaction to the types?

10 teachers responded to this request and the details of their responses and comments are presented in Chapter 7 together with the types.

This section discussed and explained the use of interviews as a means of collecting data to answer the research questions proposed in Chapter 1. The resulting data were analysed using Successive Approximation to create a full picture of the results; in addition Ideal Types of the teachers were created in order to facilitate further discussion of the ways in which the curriculum is delivered and assessed. The full results of the interviews are presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The next section discusses the development and completion of the questionnaire survey.

4.4. The questionnaire survey

Buckingham and Saunders (2004) propose that there are two aims to survey research:

To discover facts about a population (Descriptive Research) – i.e. to describe some kind of social phenomenon and to measure its incidence within the population.

To find evidence about some of the likely causes of people's behaviour or attitudes (Analytical or Explanatory Research), an attempt to explain why people think or act as they do by identifying likely causal influences on their attitudes and behaviour.

The decision to use a postal questionnaire survey was guided by the knowledge that it provides a “relatively straightforward set of data representing the attitudes, values and beliefs of participants” (Robson, 2004:233). The questionnaire survey was designed to collect data about the following:

- Demographic characteristics of participants (teachers and pupils).
- Teachers' training and experiences.
- The ways in which citizenship is delivered.
- The types of assessments in use.
- Teachers' perceptions of assessment.
- Pupils' experiences of learning about citizenship.
- Pupils' perceptions of assessment.
- General attitudes towards citizenship assessment in maintained secondary schools.

Robson (2004) may be correct when he suggests that attempting to measure perceptions is a difficult task, but there are methods, notably those of survey research, which facilitate the gathering of data about attitudes (Oppenheim, 1992; de Vaus, 2004; Groves *et al*, 2004).

It has been argued by Buckingham and Saunders (2004) that surveys don't necessarily *collect* facts about a population; rather, they *create* facts about them. This is not to suggest that researchers actually make up facts, but rather that they are dealing with a double "negotiation of reality" (Buckingham and Saunders, 2004:32-5). If one considers the process of survey questioning, the researcher asks respondents to make some sense of a series of questions; then the researcher takes the answers and interprets those by categorising and extrapolating information from them and a new reality is then created. This is perhaps inevitable, particularly in the case of survey research where respondents are anonymous and have limited interaction with the researcher. The purpose of the survey for this research was to gather data about a sample of the secondary school population with the aim of my remaining "the outsider" (Cohen *et al*, 2001:172) to whom they could describe experiences and opinions about citizenship lessons and assessments.

There is a wide range of literature regarding structure, content and presentation of questionnaires. This research was guided primarily by Oppenheim's (1992) classic text, *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement* because I have used it for some years and found it to be the most comprehensive and user-friendly guide to questionnaire practice. However, others provide useful commentary; for example Denscombe (2003:144) suggests there is no golden rule to questionnaire preparation, but a successful research questionnaire comprises three elements: a written list of questions; the collection of information for data analysis; and the gathering of information by asking people directly. According to Greig and Taylor (1999), the key to engaging young people with a questionnaire is to ensure two things: firstly, that they chose to answer the questionnaire because this minimises the 'random' answers to ratings questions by respondents who are not engaged with the task; secondly, that the questionnaire should be well-designed, so that the respondent is clear about what they are being asked to do. Successful questionnaire design relies upon the researcher having a clear understanding of what they want from the results of the survey (de Vaus, 2004). Too often, de Vaus suggests, the researcher becomes so focused on content and design that the actual aim of the questionnaire is overlooked or the focus becomes

distorted and the questions asked fail to provide answers to the research questions themselves. Another important part of the design, according to de Vaus (2004), is the wording of questionnaires, particularly those for young people. A questionnaire should be constructed in a language appropriate to young people and should ask questions that respondents are able to answer.

Experiments with the use of different colours of paper for survey questionnaires to ascertain differences in responses are common (Wall and Clapham, 2005; Skinner, 2004; Hartley and Rutherford, 2003). In the discipline of educational assessment and testing there has been substantial research which investigates the effect of colour upon issues such as test performance and gender responses. Early studies such as McNair *et al* (1971) found that pupils performed better on tests printed on red and yellow paper because these colours were supposed to decrease test anxiety. However, Skinner (2004) believes that when related to questionnaire responses, there are no significant differences; in fact white paper appeared to elicit the best results overall. LaGarce and Kuhn (1995) found that user-friendly design and colour did affect response rates, but it was important for researchers to understand that the term ‘user-friendly’ is a highly subjective notion and often contested – beauty is in the eye of the beholder. Advice from two other pieces of research by Scott (1961) and Edwards *et al* (2002) were followed in this research. The former (Scott, 1961) recommended printing the questionnaire on the back of the cover letter: he found that this helped to increase response rates. Edwards *et al* (2002) found that recipients were more likely to respond to questionnaires from universities than those from commercial organisations; therefore the Roehampton University logo was placed prominently on the front cover of the questionnaires.

Bearing the advice on design and presentation in mind, there are also certain ‘rules’ for questionnaire design (Oppenheim, 1992) which were adopted for this study:

The length of questionnaires influences response: short questionnaires increase response rates.
Making questionnaires and letters more personal increases response rates.
The chances of response are increased when stamped return envelopes are used.
Providing non-respondents with a second copy of the questionnaire increases response rates.

My aim was to produce a questionnaire for the pupils which comprised no more than two sides of A4 (about 5-8 minutes of answering time) and for the teachers, a questionnaire designed as an A4 booklet with the introductory letter making the front cover and the actual questionnaire comprising the remaining three pages of the booklet. Five teacher friends were asked what colour they felt would stand out in a pile of literature or post and all suggested yellow or orange. Yellow paper was chosen for the teacher questionnaires and the pupils' questionnaires were printed on white paper (see Appendices E and F).

4.4.1. Analysis of the questionnaires

As Gorard and Taylor (2004) explain, surveys are not necessarily quantitative by nature; they can result, as they did in this research, in both quantitative *and* qualitative data. There were three categories of data analysis:

Descriptive: Univariate (descriptive) statistics summarise key features of the data such as frequencies, means, cross-tabulations.

Statistical: Multivariate (linear regression).

Qualitative: content analysis and the use of typologies (*ibid*:68).

The majority of analysis was of a descriptive nature with some further statistical testing for certain sections of the questionnaires, for example, the pupils' responses to some statements about citizenship assessment were analysed using a linear regression. Linear regression examines the relationship between a continuous dependent variable (pupils' responses to the statements) and a number of independent variables (year group and gender). This method examines how the average value of the dependent variable changes with the independent variables (Muijs, 2004);

for example the level of agreement with a particular statement may be very strong amongst boys, but much weaker amongst girls. Linear regression analysis allows us to examine just how different (or similar) the responses of different groups within the sample might be (Rowntree, 1981).

The data from the questionnaires were entered into Excel spreadsheets and the initial descriptive statistics (counts, percentages and mean responses to statements) were generated using the formula/analysis processes. I used the software package SPSS to conduct the linear regression simply because I prefer the way in which it describes the output of the analysis compared to Excel. The open-ended questions which asked for free text answers were reviewed, categorised and coded and presented according to the themes which arose from the answers.

4.4. Ethical Considerations

This study aims to extend knowledge and application of particular educational activities from the perspectives of teachers and pupils, but it also acknowledges that using a mixture of methodological approaches within school settings can be problematic. Therefore, ethical considerations were made with reference to recognised guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004) and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2005) and were discussed at an early stage with the supervisory team. There are six key principles of ethical research that the ESRC (2005:3) expects to be addressed, where applicable:

- Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity and quality.
- Research staff and subjects must be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved.
- The confidentiality of information supplied by research subjects and the anonymity of respondents must be respected.
- Research participants must participate in a voluntary way, free from any coercion.
- Harm to research participants must be avoided.
- The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit.

These principles guided the process of reviewing procedures and identifying ethical issues for this study. Using the ESRC (2005) guidelines as a framework, a list of issues was compiled and ways to effectively manage them were sought. The issues are described here under each method of data collection:

Questionnaire survey

The survey was designed to be anonymous so that participants could respond freely. To facilitate this, the questionnaires (see Appendix F) were not marked with any details which would make it possible for the reader to detect their school of origin. The only identifying mark was a regional code, for example, 'NE' for the North East; this was done to confirm that a representative sample of schools had responded. Page one of the questionnaire for teachers summarised the purposes of the study and explained that participation was voluntary, they had the right to withdraw data at any time and all data was anonymous. They were sent a copy of an Informed Consent agreement (See Appendix G). Teachers who distributed questionnaires to pupils were asked to explain voluntary participation and anonymity to their pupils. In addition, the introduction to each pupil questionnaire assured respondents that their answers would be treated in confidence.

Interviews

For the interviews, an additional Informed Consent document was created. Teachers were all sent a copy of the Informed Consent document (Appendix G) which explained that anonymity and their right to remove data at any time. They were also asked to explain to pupils that participation was voluntary and their all responses were confidential. This outlined key issues of relevance which are:

- Participation: it was clearly stated that participation was voluntary and that participants had the right to withdraw their consent and any data relating to their participation at any time.
- Anonymity: participants were reassured that their anonymity would be secure; i.e. names would be changed and no references which might identify them or their school would be used in publications resulting from the research.

- Security of data: it was made clear that data (written, recorded, notes) would be stored in a secure place until the work is published at which point sensitive data would be destroyed.

It was not possible to begin data collection (either the pilot or the main collection) until the research design had gained formal approval from the Roehampton University's Ethics Board. For this purpose, a detailed description of how the data would be collected, stored and used was presented for approval. This is attached in Appendix H. The project received approval from the Board in May 2005.

Before each interview, schools were sent an outline of the purpose of the research together with copies of Informed Consent forms. Teachers were asked to give the Informed Consent forms to pupils for completion and to discuss the interviews with parents of participating children to ensure that they agreed to their child's participation. I did not presume knowledge of the research or participants' consent. Before each interview began, I reiterated the purpose of the research and ensured that participants (both teachers and pupils) were facilitated to give fully informed consent. Greig and Taylor (1996) argue that it is vital that pupils understand the principles of informed consent because

(t)hey are the means of ensuring that children (in particular) know that they have a choice as to whether to participate in the research, that they know that they have the right withdraw from the research at any time (Greig and Taylor, 1996:149).

In four schools, pupils had not been given the informed consent documentation and I spent time explaining it to them before getting them to sign the forms.

To facilitate a friendly interview with pupils, I asked for their first names, but pupils were always assured that these would not be used in future writing and publications. At every interview, regardless of whether participants were pupils or teachers, I reiterated that the interviews were confidential and any direct quotations or information used would be anonymised using numbers and letters instead of school names. It is important to stress the issue of anonymity, not only for

the participants, but also for the schools involved (BERA, 2004). Previous interviewing experience has taught me that some teachers are reluctant to participate in research for fear of being named. I decided to address this from the outset and ensured that the initial contact (by letter) stressed the anonymity of the school. This was reiterated during the follow-up telephone call. Only in the circumstances where one teacher had recommended a colleague at a different school to participate in the study was it not possible to keep the identity of participating schools secret from one another.

For data recording and writing up, each participating school was assigned a numeric code so that centres and individuals could not be identified when data was discussed with my supervisory staff. Confidential data has been stored securely and will be destroyed on publication of the thesis. All schools that participated in interviews will be sent a summary of the results of the study; it will not be possible to do the same for survey respondents due to the anonymous return of the questionnaires.

The previous sections have discussed the decisions for choosing interviews and a survey as viable means of data collection for this research. There are particular issues which need to be addressed when researching in schools, and in particular, when working with young people. Every step was taken to ensure that ethical procedures were followed so that the research was conducted fairly and caused no discernible harm to the participants. The way in which interviews were conducted was designed to help pupils and teachers speak freely and honestly about their experience of citizenship in their schools. In addition, the questionnaires were designed in such a way as to encourage response rates and afford respondents an opportunity to make suggestions, state opinions and discuss their experiences whilst remaining anonymous. Once the methods had been agreed and draft questionnaires drawn up, a timescale was set for pre-piloting of the research instrument, to be followed by a fuller pilot study. These processes are described in the next section.

4.5. The pilot study

The nature of a pilot study is necessarily exploratory (Oppenheim, 1979) and the trialling of the method and research tools is central to the success of any research study. The pilot phase for this research was conducted in two sections: a pre-pilot and a pilot study proper. The pre-pilot of questionnaires was conducted in two schools in June 2005. This was an opportunity to collect comments about the first draft questionnaires, and participants (teachers and pupils) were encouraged to comment on the questionnaire design and content. Two schools returned questionnaires (two from teachers and eighteen from pupils); their responses revealed some issues in questionnaire design and question structure. As a result of the pre-pilot, the questionnaires were amended and the format of some questions was altered, the number of questions was adjusted and the design fine-tuned in readiness for the pilot study proper.

The pilot study proper began in September 2005. Twenty maintained secondary schools were randomly selected from the LEA database for West and East Sussex County Councils (<http://wsgfl.westsussex.gov.uk/>); ten were mailed questionnaires and a covering letter; the remaining ten were sent letters asking for interviews with staff and pupils. The response rate was low; just three schools returned questionnaires and three agreed to participate in interviews. It was possible, on three occasions, to discuss the reasons for non-participation over the telephone. Reasons included:

- too little time to organise an interview.
- not enough lesson time to administer the questionnaires.
- no interest in the research.
- the school is already participating in other research.
- not wishing to draw attention to the fact that the school had no framework for assessment of citizenship because OFSTED were due at the school imminently.

Interviews were particularly difficult to arrange and, as one teacher (School PB) told me, “there is no good time to arrange a visitor to come to the school.” Thus I was prepared for opposition and knew that recruiting enough schools for interviews would mean being flexible regarding dates and timings. In educational settings, a common experience of researchers is that of being forced to change one’s schedule at the last moment to comply with the demands of their participants (Ely *et al*, 2000:133).

In addition, encountering problems in distributing and recovering the questionnaires helped me to devise a more effective structure for distribution in the main study. The results of the pilot study are written up in some detail in Appendix I because the findings guided the methodology of the main study and presented data which afforded a more detailed perspective of participants’ attitudes to citizenship.

The interview participants comprised:

School A: 3 x teachers, 3 x year 10 pupils (female) and 2 x Year 11 pupils (male)

A large comprehensive school serving a fairly affluent town on the South Coast.

School B: 1 x teacher, 2 x Year 10 pupils (female) and 2 x Year 11 pupils (one male, one female)

A comprehensive in a disadvantaged area of East Sussex.

School C: 1 x teacher, 2 x Year 10 pupils (female) and 2 x Year 11 pupils (female)

An all-girls school in an affluent town in mid-Sussex.

Teachers were interviewed alone and the pupils participated in paired interviews (by year group); interviews were audio-recorded. A semi-structured interview approach was used with a schedule to guide the interviews. Results were analysed using Successive Approximation (see page 120).

The results of this exploratory study with a discrete group of participants revealed a number of themes indicating areas of mutual agreement and opposing perceptions.

Curriculum delivery

Participants were asked to outline the method of delivery and assessment. School A offered discrete lessons (1 hour per week in Years 8 - 11) and additional cross-curricular delivery via subjects such as history and English. In School B, citizenship was delivered once a week through a Personal and Social Education (PSE) lesson during tutor group time and the teacher claimed that there was some resentment from other staff about having to teach citizenship; none had received training and the teacher explained that there was a lack of confidence about teaching it. School C took a cross-curricular approach, but acknowledged that some topics were covered in more than one lesson and yet other parts of the citizenship curriculum were not being taught at all. However, School C was in the process of undertaking a subject audit with the aim of identifying gaps in provision and to improve delivery.

The subject of Citizenship

Pupils' perceptions of citizenship as a subject were similar in each of the three schools and there were only small differences in the responses of pupils in Year 10 compared to pupils in Year 11. Pupils generally believed that citizenship was useful but they were sometimes unhappy about the fact that it was a compulsory part of the curriculum. Pupils seemed to feel that they should be able to choose whether or not they study citizenship.

Teachers' perceptions were understandably different from those of the pupils. The majority of teachers, as citizenship co-ordinators, have a vested interest in making the subject a success. Four of the five teachers expressed a commitment to the success of the subject and believed it to be a valuable part of the National Curriculum. The teacher who did not feel this way explained that he had been "given" citizenship and was sceptical of the lifespan of the subject.

Assessing the subject

Teachers and pupils were asked how work was assessed at the end of a topic and at the end of each year. The following methods were employed in schools A and C:

- Portfolios.
- Coursework (for the GCSE examination).
- Written examinations (end of topic tests, GCSE examinations).

In school B, pupils keep a folder of work as evidence of topics covered in citizenship/PSE during tutor time but there were no formal tests or assessments made at the end of key stage 3. Pupils were confused about assessment; some pupils claimed that they had never been tested. In School C, a discussion on assessments revealed that pupils did not recognise assessments: “It wasn’t called an exam; it was an assessment because we weren’t graded on it”. All pupil interviewees were able to list a range of assessments that they had or might like to use for citizenship.

The GCSE qualification

Pupils’ discussions regarding the GCSE (Short Course) qualification in citizenship were different across the year groups and within the schools. Some pupils in year 10 suggested that the subject would be afforded more respect if there was a qualification to aim for and others were enthusiastic about the value of a citizenship GCSE and its use for future careers. Other pupils liked the fact that they were not assessed because it made the subject less stressful, but others felt that this meant it was not an important subject. Pupils in one school did not have a choice about studying a GCSE specification, but only the brightest pupils are chosen to take the examination.

The attitudes of teachers towards the GCSE were variable. One felt that the subject was not relevant to their curriculum so a GCSE would not be entertained by the Senior Management Team (SMT). Another was troubled by the profile of pupils choosing citizenship as a GCSE

option because pupils who took it were doing so unwillingly simply because there was a lack of choice.

Modes of assessment

Teachers expressed concern about the assessment of citizenship. All viewed the modes of assessment as vital to the success of the subject and most felt that citizenship lends itself to methods not usually used in other subjects. Two had experimented with different methods of assessment delivery (with varying degrees of success), but were unhappy about the lack of attainment levels. They argued for more diversity within the framework for assessment and wanted oral examinations to be approved as they felt these would be the most effective way for many pupils to demonstrate their skills in citizenship. Some difficulties were indicated in implementing assessment for some parts of the GCSE syllabus. Schools A and C were developing relationships with community groups and constructing practical activities within their local communities so that pupils could be afforded opportunities to develop the active elements of citizenship.

As expected, the pilot proper revealed areas for improvement in the methodology and design of the study. Amendments were made to the design of the questionnaires: questions which asked pupils to respond to statements appeared to be misunderstood so they were redrafted and re-trialled. There were too many questions which required a written response and both teachers and pupils failed to complete them adequately, so these sections were restructured for the main study. Teachers commented on layout and colour of the questionnaire and these comments influenced the design of the questionnaire for the main study, for example, three respondents said the paper needed to be orange or yellow in order to 'stand out' in their paperwork.

I also made some changes to the interview schedules following the pilot proper study. I drew up a longer list of pupil prompts, that is, ways to stop them using a closed answer such as 'No' or

‘Yes’. In one of the pilot schools the pupils were difficult to engage and seemed tongue-tied. Finding a greater range of ways to engage them in conversation meant that the interviews in the main study were very successful. The information that teachers provided in the pilot proper interviews also afforded me a more in-depth knowledge of subject delivery and helped me to develop a better understanding of the issues that teachers face on a daily basis. The interviews had a tendency to become an outlet for complaints, so being prepared for this meant I was able to discover what affects the issues I was researching. On a practical level, I bought a digital voice recorder and found that this was a very useful way of engaging pupils because they wanted to know how it worked and what I could do with their voice once recorded. Allowing pupils to play a little with the equipment helped them to be more at ease with the interview situation.

Once the pilot research was complete and necessary modifications to the methodology had been made, then the main study could proceed.

4.6. The main study

The data collection for the main study was conducted between March and July 2006.

Questionnaire Survey

The sample comprised 400 schools and the teacher responsible for citizenship in each one was sent a questionnaire. A sub-sample of forty-five schools was selected from the 400 and these schools received additional questionnaires to give to pupils (see Appendix F). Fifteen schools were asked to distribute the questionnaires to Year 11 pupils, the next fifteen were asked to give the questionnaires to Year 10 pupils and the final fifteen asked to give them to Year 9 pupils. A total of 400 questionnaires were sent to teachers and 675 questionnaires were sent to pupils. The response rates were healthy with 117 (29.3%) teachers and 218 (32.3%) pupils returning completed questionnaires.

A pre-paid envelope was included for return of the questionnaires and, to encourage response rates, I telephoned the 45 schools that had received the pupil questionnaires a week after the mailings were sent and reminded them to return the questionnaires. The questionnaires were anonymous except for an area code marked on the final page. This was added in order to know the number of responses received from different areas of the country.

Interviews

In February 2006, schools identified for the interviews were sent letters inviting them to participate. Nineteen teachers and fifty-eight pupils from eighteen schools were interviewed. Each school was telephoned to arrange a date and time for the visit. The first ten interviews took place during March and April. Following the Easter vacation there was a break in the interviewing schedule; this was due to the fact that in early May all GCSE coursework is collected for marking and Year 9 pupils are engaged with SATS assessments. Therefore, the remaining eight schools arranged interview dates later in the summer term, during June and July.

4.7. Summary of the chapter

This chapter has discussed appropriate methods of collecting and analysing data to answer the questions posed by this research. The methods selected were interviews and a national questionnaire survey because the combination of the two approaches was expected to provide a broad range of views and perceptions. There is an ongoing debate which poses a positivist approach against an interpretative one and this study is dominated by the latter, but includes methods from the former. I am unconvinced that one approach is superior to the other; rather the process of using mixed methods is one of construction and reflection, and used a thoughtfully selected, complementary set of techniques to elicit different types of data. I have argued that the triangulation of data provides a composite story in which the different types of data ‘complement’ one another (Gorard and Taylor, 2004) and provide a strong foundation from which to extrapolate results and find answers to the research questions. Pilot studies helped to guide the planning of

the main research study. The resulting data took nine months to collate and analyse. In the next chapter we will see how the results emerged from the different data sets and how these contribute to further understanding of the research topics. It is presented in three sections: one covers the questionnaire survey for both teachers and pupils; the second presents the interview data from teachers; the third presents interview data from pupils.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS – QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

This chapter describes the results of the questionnaire survey. The results are presented in two parts:

PART 1: Responses from the teachers

PART 2: Responses from the pupils

The questionnaires were divided into sections and the results are presented section-by-section. The results include both quantitative and qualitative data which are presented using tables and figures to illustrate the responses. At the beginning of each Part, the respondents are introduced and the process of eliciting responses is briefly outlined. Frequency tables of responses were created to present the responses from teachers and pupils. Further analysis to investigate relationships between pupils' gender, their year group and their attitudes were conducted using linear regression. The results are discussed in further detail in Chapter 9.

5.1. Responses from teachers

Teachers responsible for citizenship in 400 schools across England were sent questionnaires asking for their opinions about the citizenship curriculum and their methods of assessment for citizenship (see Appendix F). Forty-five teachers from the main sample were also sent questionnaires to administer to pupils in Years 9, 10 or 11. A total of 117 teachers responded to the questionnaire; this is a response rate of 29.3%.

Responses by area

Each questionnaire was coded according to the area of the country to which it was sent. The areas were those used by the Department for Education and Skills (National Statistics, 2006) and there are seven in all (see Table 5.1 below). Using this method of area coding ensured anonymity for respondents, but demonstrates that the responses are drawn from a geographically-wide range of schools across England. A summary of the questionnaires sent and received (by area) is shown in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Questionnaires sent and received (by area)

Sample (mailed questionnaires)			Responses (from all teachers)		
Area	Count	Percent	Area	Count	Percent
South East and London	104	26.0	South East and London	37	31.6
Yorkshire and North East	64	16.0	Yorkshire and North East	20	17.1
North West	59	14.8	North West	15	12.8
West Midlands	50	12.5	South West	14	12.0
East England	49	12.3	East England	12	10.3
South West	38	9.5	West Midlands	9	7.7
East Midlands	36	9.0	East Midlands	7	6.0
			Unknown respondents	3	2.6
Total	400	100.0	Total	117	100.0

The majority of responses (n=37) came from schools in the South Eastern regions of England and London and the fewest responses (n=7) were received from schools in the East Midlands. There are some notable differences in the responses compared to the sample; more schools in the South West (n=14) returned questionnaires than those in the West Midlands (n=9). Three respondents had obscured the region code on their questionnaires and it was not possible to assign them an area in this part of the analysis.

5.1.1. Section A: Your role in the school

1. How long have you been teaching?

Each respondent was asked how many years they had been teaching. The results ranged from one year (a Newly Qualified Teacher) to the longest: 38 years.

Table 5.2: Length of teaching (years)

Years Teaching	Count	Percent	Cum. %
1-5	16	13.7	13.7
6-10	26	22.2	35.9
11-15	17	14.5	50.4
16-20	13	11.1	61.5
21-25	15	12.8	74.3
26-30	14	12.0	86.3
31-35	12	10.3	96.6
36-38	3	2.6	99.1
No answer	1	0.9	100.0
Total	117	100.0	100.0

Teachers with six to 10 years experience are most commonly represented in this survey making up almost one quarter of all respondents.

2. Which subject(s) other than citizenship do you teach?

It is not uncommon for teachers in secondary schools to teach more than one subject. Research by Warwick *et al* (2004) found that in a sample of 29 teachers of citizenship, the majority had a teaching background in Humanities subjects, usually English, History, Media Studies or Religious Education. In this research, respondents taught a range of subjects alongside citizenship. The most common were PSHE, History and RE. Table 5.3 shows that teachers who teach citizenship are also more likely to be teachers of Humanities subjects.

Table 5.3: Subjects taught in addition to citizenship (by subject)

Subject	Count	Percent
PSHE	37	22.7
History	35	21.5
RE	32	19.6
English, Geography	12	7.4
PE	11	6.7
Careers, Health and Social Care	8	4.9
D&T, Science	7	4.3
Politics	6	3.7
Drama, Music	5	3.1
Humanities, ICT, Leisure	4	2.5
Business, Key Skills, Maths, Sociology	3	1.8
Chemistry, Economics, French, General Studies, MFL, Outdoor Ed, Philosophy, Textiles	2	1.2
Biology, Child Development, Critical Thinking, Dance, German, Literacy, Spanish	1	0.6
Total (NB. some respondents teach more than one subject)	163	100.0

Table 5.4 below shows the number of subjects taught in addition to citizenship. Almost three quarters of respondents (71.0%) taught one or two subjects as well as citizenship and the remaining 35 teachers (29.0%) taught an additional three to six subjects.

Table 5.4: Subjects taught in addition to citizenship (number)

Number of subjects taught	Count	Percent	Cum. %
0	2	1.7	1.7
1	45	38.5	40.2
2	36	30.8	71.0
3	20	17.1	88.1
4	11	9.4	97.5
5	2	1.7	99.1
6	1	0.9	100.0
Total	117	100.0	100.0

Whilst it appears that most teachers have a dual subject specialism, only seven respondents to the questionnaire survey were specialist citizenship teachers. Additional comments from three respondents suggested that they are often under pressure to prioritise the more ‘academic’ subjects which are part of their teaching remit. Some comments implied that citizenship is viewed as the poor relation to other subjects:

Academic targets are more of a priority for curriculum time (Teacher 101).

Due to its low status in the curriculum, training in this subject isn't a priority for staff (Teacher 33).

3. Which of the following responsibilities do you have?

The role of the teacher in secondary schools is changing and, as Capel *et al* (2005:12) point out, “...most staff have responsibilities beyond their subject specialism.” Bearing this in mind, it was expected that respondents to the questionnaire survey would undertake other roles in addition to their teaching load. Four possible answers were created for this question and respondents were asked to tick *all* those applicable: Table 5.5 below shows the answers.

Table 5.5: Responsibilities of respondents

Role	Count	Percent
Citizenship co-ordinator	100	36.2
Citizenship teacher	49	17.8
Form tutor	43	15.6
Other	84	30.4
Total	276	100.0

As the above results show, over a third respondents (36.2%) held the role of citizenship co-ordinator. Those who ticked ‘Other’ explained that they had jobs such as Subject co-ordinator or Subject Head, for subjects other than citizenship (n=52), or that they held a senior management role in the school such as Assistant Head (n=15). Further responsibilities that respondents mentioned were roles such as Advanced Skills Teacher (AST), Head of Year Group or Advisory work with their Local Authority (n=17). It is somewhat puzzling that less than a fifth of respondents (17.8%) ticked ‘Citizenship teacher’ because I had expected that most of the

respondents would actually teach the subject. However, given that the question asked about responsibility, perhaps the teachers did not feel their teaching role was in fact a responsibility, rather it was just something they did anyway.

4. Please describe your school type (e.g. Comprehensive, Community)

A summary of school types is presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Respondents grouped by school type

School Type	Number	Percent
Comprehensive/Secondary/Community	63	53.8
Specialist status	17	14.5
Religiously affiliated	8	6.8
Voluntary aided	7	6.0
High school	6	5.1
Grammar	5	4.3
Foundation	3	2.6
Technology college/school	3	2.6
Other	1	0.9
No answer	4	3.4
Total	117	100.00

These data show that more than half of the respondents (53.8%) described their school type as a mixed comprehensive, secondary school or mixed community school. A smaller number of respondents (14.5%) identified their school as having a Specialist³⁶ status, for example, an Arts, Sports, Language or Business College. The remaining respondents (21.7%) described their school in other ways, for example Grammar, Foundation etc.

The profile of respondents includes a regionally representative spread of different types of state-maintained schools with teachers that have experience ranging from one to 38 years in teaching. The subject background of citizenship teachers is similar (usually based in humanities) and, as yet, there are only a few who have come through the PGCE Citizenship training route. Like all teachers, the respondents in this research have a range of other responsibilities in addition to their teaching. With the profile of respondents complete, the following section outlines the delivery and structure of citizenship in their schools.

5.1.2. Section B: Citizenship Curriculum

This section of the questionnaire asked questions about the implementation of the citizenship curriculum.

5. What kind and how much training have you had to teach citizenship?

Table 5.7: Training experiences (by teacher)

Type of Training	Count	Percent
None	38	27.7
Day or week courses (private provision)	29	21.2
Other (peer training, in-house training)	19	13.9
INSET	18	13.1
Local Authority Course	18	13.1
Post Graduate Certificate in Education (including citizenship)	9	6.5
Conferences	6	4.4
Total (Respondents cited more than one type of training)	137	100.0

The majority of teachers (n=93) had undertaken at least one course and 18 had experienced two or more types of training - responses are presented in Table 5.7 above. However, more than a quarter of respondents (27.7%) had received no training in citizenship.

About one fifth of respondents (21.2%) had attended short courses (from one day to one week) and others had received training ‘on the job’ or through attendance at conferences. Just nine respondents had subject-specific teacher training, that is, they had studied for a PGCE in citizenship or citizenship with another National Curriculum subject.

6. Do you have a specific qualification in citizenship education?

Nine respondents answered ‘Yes’ to this question; of those, all were PGCE graduates and two had taken an Advanced Skills qualification in citizenship. There are still relatively few teachers trained as citizenship specialists: “only 800 in total by July 2006; enough for only 15% of schools to have one teacher each” (Leighton, 2006:82). Bearing Leighton’s research in mind, it was not surprising to find that the majority of teachers surveyed for this research were not trained subject specialists.

7. How involved were you in the introduction of citizenship education to your school's curriculum?

The questionnaire offered a choice of four possible answers as shown in Table 5.8 below:

Table 5.8: Teachers' involvement in the introduction of citizenship

Answer	Count	Percent
A great deal	64	55.1
Quite a lot	22	18.9
A little	10	8.6
Not at all	20	17.2
Total	116	100.0
No Response	1	

The response to this question was largely positive with more than half of all respondents (55.1%) indicating that they had 'A great deal' of involvement and a further 18.9% having 'Quite a lot' of involvement. One fifth of respondents had little or no involvement and it is likely that these were teachers who were either new to teaching or had inherited their role in citizenship. (These propositions are discussed in more detail in the next section).

7(i) What was your role in this?

In the second part of this question, respondents were also asked to explain their role in the implementation of the subject. Respondents who circled 'A great deal' often had more than one role in the implementation including: co-ordination/management of the subject (n=23), responsibility for curriculum and assessment development including the introduction of a GCSE specification (n=21), writing schemes of work (n=13), and conducting audits of provision/resources (n=5). As the level of involvement reduced, so did the number of roles described by the teachers. Those who circled 'Quite a lot' described their role as co-ordinator (n=7) or as a member of a leadership team for citizenship (n=5). Others stated more specific responsibilities such as training others or working on programmes of study. Respondents who circled 'A little' or 'Not at all' tended to have been recently appointed to their post (n=8) and explained that most of the ground work had been done before they arrived, for example: "Some elements were in place before I arrived and they have been co-ordinated for two terms" (Teacher 58).

8. To what extent did the introduction of the citizenship curriculum involve other members of staff?

Respondents were asked to select an appropriate answer from four options. More than half of respondents (56.3%) had either ‘Quite a lot’ or ‘A great deal’ of involvement. This was a surprisingly positive response because I had expected other staff to be hostile towards the introduction of citizenship.

Table 5.9: Involvement of other staff in the introduction of citizenship

Answer	Count	Percent
A great deal	16	14.5
Quite a lot	46	41.8
A little	45	40.9
Not at all	3	2.7
Total	110	100.0
No Response	7	

Where respondents ticked ‘A little’ or ‘Not at all’, it must be noted that less involvement does not necessarily indicate disinterest. Lack of involvement was usually ascribed to lack of time, responsibility for other subjects, or timetabling constraints rather than their colleagues having a negative opinion of the subject as the following quotations illustrate:

I have many helpful colleagues, but everyone is in the dark as to what it [citizenship] is (Teacher 112).
 Staff are generally supportive of it, but feel pressured (due to curriculum constraints) about its delivery (Teacher 2).

9. Please indicate the structure of teaching of citizenship at key stages 3 and 4 in your school?

Respondents were offered three options for each key stage: (a) a discrete subject, (b) a cross-curricular subject or (c) both.

Table 5.10: Subject delivery (by key stage)

key stage 3	Count	Percent	key stage 4	Count	Percent
Discrete	30	25.9	Discrete	35	30.9
Cross-curricular	29	25.0	Cross-curricular	20	17.7
Both	57	49.1	Both	58	51.3
Total	116	100.00		113	100.0
No response	1		No response	4	

At key stage 3 and key stage 4 half of all the respondents deliver citizenship as both a discrete and cross-curricular lesson. However, at key stage 3 proportionally more schools (25%) delivered the subject in a cross-curricular format compared to key stage 4 (17.7%).

9(i). How many hours were allocated to the discrete teaching of citizenship?

The amount of time allocated to citizenship was variable, ranging from half an hour per week to a maximum of two hours per week, but the average allocation is one hour a week at each key stage. I had expected that the hours dedicated to citizenship might be influenced by two things: firstly, schools offering a GCSE specification and secondly, the decision to offer citizenship as a discrete subject. However, these expectations were unfounded – see Table 5.11 below.

Table 5.11: Comparison of schools offering a GCSE specification with timetable hours

GCSE offered?	Hours of teaching						
	Hours	Yes	Percent	No	Percent	Total	Percent
	0.5	1	3.7	15	28.8	16	20.3
	1	21	77.9	35	67.3	56	70.9
	1.3	2	7.4	0	0.0	2	2.5
	1.5	2	7.4	0	0.0	2	2.5
	2	1	3.7	2	3.8	3	3.8
Total		27	100.0	52	100.0	79	
No response		10		27		38	

Thirty-seven schools offered a GCSE specification and of these, 27 answered the question. More than three quarters of respondents (77.9%) have just one hour a week of citizenship. When teaching hours for citizenship were compared with the offering of the GCSE specification it was found that the majority of schools offer one hour of citizenship each week regardless of whether or not they offer a GCSE specification. Nevertheless, more of the schools which offer a GCSE were likely to teach citizenship for more than a hour each week, whereas more schools (28.8%) which did not offer the GCSE offered less than one hour of teaching each week.

The results presented in this section suggest that whilst the majority of respondents had received a limited amount of training, almost one third had received none at all. The majority of the respondents had also played a significant role in introducing the citizenship curriculum to their schools and had felt that they received support from colleagues in other subject areas. Almost half of the schools in this research taught citizenship as both a discrete subject and through other subjects in the wider school curriculum. It is clear that some schools only offer citizenship within a limited time frame; just one hour a week was the average teaching time allocated to the subject.

5.1.3. Section C: Assessment of citizenship

This section of the questionnaire was divided into three parts:

1. Types of assessment used in school;
2. Number of pieces of work submitted for assessment; and
3. Perceptions of the citizenship curriculum in school.

10. How do you record progress in citizenship at key stages 3 and 4?

Respondents were presented with a table suggesting five types of assessment that they might use to record progress of pupils at each key stage. Teachers were asked to tick any methods that they already used and they were also asked to describe any additional methods of assessment used in their school. Table 5.12 (i) below shows the initial responses and Table 5.13 (ii) compares the responses with the offering of a GCSE specification.

Table 5.12 (i): Assessment methods in use (by key stage)

Method	Key stage 3		Key stage 4	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Portfolios and/or diaries	83	31.4	56	24.6
Written tests or examinations	36	13.6	45	19.7
Games and quizzes	32	12.1	18	7.9
Video and/or audio tapes	12	4.6	10	4.4
Presentations	58	22.0	42	18.4
Other	43	16.3	25	11.0
Don't Assess	n/a	n/a	32	14.0

Total	264	100.0	228	100.0
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At both key stages, portfolios and diaries were the most common methods of recording achievement and making video (DVD) or audio recordings was the least common. Written tests are used less frequently to assess citizenship at key stage 3 (13.6%) than at key stage 4 (19.7%); this difference is likely to be due to the teaching of a GCSE (or other) specification at key stage 4 where more summative approaches to testing are used.

It is possible that the types of assessment method selected might be affected by a school's decision to offer a GCSE specification and this was investigated further; table 5.13 (ii) presents the methods together with the number of schools which offer a GCSE specification.

Table 5.13 (ii): Methods used compared by key stage and qualification offered

Method	Key stage 3			Key stage 4		
	All resps.	GCSE: Yes	%	All resps.	GCSE: Yes	%
Portfolios and/or diaries	83	30	28.6	56	17	18.3
Written tests or examinations	36	20	19.0	45	33	35.5
Games and quizzes	32	12	11.4	18	9	9.6
Video and/or audio tapes	12	10	9.5	10	8	8.6
Presentations	58	21	20.0	42	18	19.3
Other	43	12	11.4	25	8	8.6
Don't Assess	n/a	n/a	0.0	32	n/a	0.0
Total	264	105	100.0	228	93	100.0

As expected, the use of Written Tests was the most popular method of assessment at key stage 4: 35.5% of schools which offered a GCSE used this method. Presentations are the second most popular choice at key stage 3 whereas they are used less at key stage 4. Again this is likely to be due to the use of a GCSE specification (18 of those who ticked 'Presentations' (total n=41) offered a GCSE). Teachers were less likely to include presentations as a form of evidence for coursework because it can be difficult to present evidence of this format. The AQA GCSE specification stresses that "it is not necessary to send all sources such as video evidence...it will suffice for the teacher to keep such sources for reference" AQA (2007b:28).

Games and Quizzes/Video and audio recordings are used infrequently and it is difficult to know why this is so because no respondent commented upon their use. Where respondents had ticked 'Other', they described the additional or different types of assessment in use in their school. These included: self and peer assessment (n=16), progress journals (n=7) and verbal reporting on coursework (n=12).

One respondent used whole-school activities as a way of tracking progress and rewarded achievements with specially produced certificates for pupils. Other teachers described using a questionnaire or quiz to test achievement. The annual report to parents was also mentioned as a straightforward method of recording progress. Several respondents noted that they did not have a developed framework for assessment and it was described by two respondents as something that was in progress. Assessment of citizenship is optional at key stage 4; therefore respondents were given the choice to tick a box marked 'Don't assess at key stage 4' and 27% of respondents ticked this.

11. On average, how many pieces of work do your pupils usually present for assessment?

Guidance from Huddleston and Kerr (2006:149) recommends that teachers should assess between three and five pieces of work in any year. The most common answer (n=34) was zero assessments over the course of a year. In almost one quarter of schools (23.1%) pupils usually presented one assessment per term – 3 in the course of a year.

As Table 5.14 (below) shows, eight respondents did not give an exact figure: rather they stated that 'various' or 'numerous' assessments were presented and it was not possible to specify an overall pattern for a year or term.

Table 5.14: Number of pieces of work presented for assessment

Number of pieces of work	Count	Percent
0	34	29.1
1	15	12.8
2	11	9.4
3	27	23.1
4	7	6.0
5	4	3.4
6	6	5.1
7	1	0.9
9	1	0.9
10	1	0.9
15	1	0.9
16	1	0.9
Unspecified or Variable	6	5.1
Numerous	2	1.7
Total	117	100.0

Some schools had created different structures which were dependent upon preparation for a GCSE and could be affected by co-teaching of citizenship with PSHE:

[We have] one per year or two in PSHE. In years 7-11: One piece possibly two, assessed from CP [citizenship] lesson. In year 9: many subjects deliver a unit of citizenship work, as agreed, which is assessed (Teacher 2).

12. How are your pupils' achievements in citizenship recognised and celebrated?

Teachers were asked to consider the different options available and indicate which, if any, they had used. The list was drawn up based on schemes and ideas discussed with the teachers who participated in the pilot study (see Appendix I).

Table 5.15: Methods used to recognise achievement (by key stage)

Award	KS 3	Percent	KS 4	Percent
Written reports for parents	94	27.9	83	24.3
School awards and/or certificates	76	22.6	69	20.2
School assemblies or presentations	71	21.1	64	18.6
Reported via local news media	48	14.2	44	12.8
National Award Schemes (e.g. Duke of Edinburgh Awards)	20	5.9	32	9.4
National qualifications (e.g. GCSE)	15	4.4	39	11.4
Other (please describe)	13	3.9	11	3.2
Total	337	100.0	342	100.0

When comparing the methods of recognising achievement used, it is perhaps unsurprising to see that reporting to parents was the most commonly used at both key stages. Reporting at the end of key stage 3 is a statutory requirement (QCA, 2004; 2006), but schools tend to continue the

practice on to key stage 4. School awards and certificates are used by a fifth of respondents and the promotion of specific issues via assemblies or special presentations is similarly popular. The significant differences between key stages lie with the use of GCSE (or similar qualifications) and National Award Schemes. At the beginning of key stage 4, schools are more likely to offer a GCSE because this is deemed an appropriate course of study for pupils at this age whereas at key stage 3 only a few schools are able to offer pupils the chance to start the GCSE early. Similarly, more pupils at key stage 4 are offered National Award Schemes such as Duke of Edinburgh so that they can achieve a recognised award following two years of study.

Where teachers ticked ‘Other’, they were asked to describe additional forms of recognition used. These included ambitious and wide-reaching projects. One school had worked with a community in Burkino Faso, Africa to help build them a primary school. Other schools ran regular articles in school bulletin magazines or participated in national projects such as the Youth Parliament Day or in national charity events such as the BBC’s ‘Children in Need’. Two schools had a scheme of sending a “Postcard Home” to parents outlining the achievements of pupils in citizenship and highlighting the value of the programme of study. One school mentioned the ASDAN specification³⁷ ‘Key Decisions in citizenship’ (see www.asdan.org.uk).

13. Does your school offer any of the following specifications for citizenship?

Respondents were presented with the choice of nationally recognised qualifications currently on offer as shown in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16: Summary of qualifications offered

Qualification and Awarding Body ³⁸	AQA	%	Edex	%	OCR	%	No AB	%	Total
GCSE Short Course	4	9.8	10	24.4	13	31.7	7	17.1	34
Entry Level Certificate	2	4.8	0	0.0	1	2.4	2	4.8	5
AS Level (Social Science)	2	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
Total	8	19.5	10	24.4	14	36.1	9	21.9	41

Forty-one schools (35.0%) used one of the above specifications. Of those who offered a specification, 34 (82.9%) offered a GCSE Short Course; two respondents also offered AQA's AS specification and five use an Entry Level Certificate. Respondents who answered 'Yes' to this question were also asked to indicate which awarding body's specification they preferred to use: the most popular was the OCR specification (n=14); Edexcel were second (n=10) and AQA the least popular (n=8). Nine respondents did not say which awarding body they used.

13 (i) Please explain briefly why your school chooses to offer, or not to offer, a nationally recognised specification in citizenship.

One hundred and six (90.5%) respondents answered this question and provided a wide range of reasons for choice (or not) of a specification leading to a recognised qualification. To provide a clear picture of the reasons for choosing to offer a qualification (or not), the following section is divided into two parts and quotations from teachers are used to exemplify the issues and opinions.

Respondents who do not offer a qualification

It was difficult to extract single themes as many comments included multiple reasons which were often linked to one another; for example, respondents cited time as a particular problem but this problem may exacerbate other issues: "There is not enough time in the curriculum to complete an official award properly - pupils have enough to deal with!" (Teacher 14). A response such as this refers to an already crowded timetable into which staff are loathe (or indeed, unable) to add another subject that might increase pressure on pupils. Lack of time in the timetable was the most common reason that teachers gave for not offering a specification:

We only have one hour per fortnight, so can't fit it all in (Teacher 102).

In some instances the teaching/delivery of citizenship was problematical: "[There is] insufficient timetable allocation and it's taught as a cross-curricular subject" (Teacher 74). Other teachers echoed this view which suggests that cross-curricular delivery precludes the offering of a qualification because it is difficult to ensure that all the necessary criteria are satisfied via this

means of delivery. Many teachers felt that a GCSE gave the subject 'kudos', but others did not share this opinion:

Pupils are already entered for too many qualifications. Citizenship is an ethos, not just a subject (Teacher 112).

Some teachers also believe that pupils like the fact that they can study a subject which has no assessment attached to it:

We don't offer a GCSE to lessen the pressure on pupils in KS4 and to aid overall development; to avoid frequent measurement of success (Teacher 58).

Other teachers explained that sometimes pupils were concerned about the value of the qualification and would prefer to study other subjects:

As a secondary modern, some pupils find assessment difficult; we stress importance through delivery rather than formal assessment. Some pupils from the school council suggested they would rather do another GCSE of choice rather than be forced to do citizenship (Teacher 64).

Other staff were critical of the planning process and felt that this negated the opportunity to offer a GCSE:

[It's] not appropriate, too time consuming in the time given to do PSHE & citizenship (Teacher 81).

There are other issues surrounding how a test of citizenship is perceived. Teachers expressed concern that pupils would confuse failure in citizenship with failure on an individual level. "We don't agree with identifying pupils as poor citizens" (Teacher 6). Others felt that assessment of the citizen was unreasonable and were opposed to the idea of any testing at all:

The citizenship coordinator is against testing in citizenship, i.e. if you fail, are you a bad citizen? (Teacher 33).

A lack of specialist subject knowledge was another common concern amongst the teachers and this has been noted as a significant issue by OFSTED (2006). Respondents felt that they were unable to offer a GCSE or similar because there was no teacher qualified to teach a GCSE and

delivery would be compromised by lack of experience: “[It is] not taught by specialists, but by form tutor” (Teacher 89).

Respondents who do offer a qualification

The status of the subject was very important and respondents felt that the GCSE provided “credence in the minds of the pupils” (Teacher 1) or that “lessons are taken more seriously by pupils” (Teacher 81). Other respondents felt that the status afforded by the GCSE ‘added’ to the subject in other ways:

To ensure that pupils buy-in to the subject; it is important that work is externally validated and gives pupils a sense of self-worth (Teacher 54).

The pupils are more able to identify what citizenship is if they are studying for an exam (Teacher 57).

The ‘reward’ factor in taking a recognised qualification appeared central to the decision to offer a specification for many respondents as the following quotation explains:

It gives pupils a nationally recognised qualification, raises the motivation of pupils in lessons/homework and raises the profile [of the] subject (Teacher 37).

This section has provided an overview of assessment types used in the survey schools and has indicated the most popular ways to assess citizenship at the present time. Schools appear to be rather cautious in adopting the less conventional modes of assessment suggested by policy documentation (e.g. video) and almost one third admit that they do not ask pupils to submit assessments. Some teachers were concerned about how assessment would affect the pupils’ perceptions of the subject, and of themselves. Nationally recognised qualifications, specifically the GCSE, are gaining popularity not least as a means of affording the subject with more status and allowing pupils to gain a qualification at the end of their ‘enforced’ course of study.

5.1.4. Section D: Attitudes towards citizenship

This section was divided into two parts: a question asking respondents to define the subject of citizenship and then a table of statements about perceptions of the present citizenship curriculum and how it is implemented in the participant's school.

14. Defining citizenship. As part of my research, I am constructing a list of definitions of citizenship and would like to know what you think defines it as a subject. How would you define citizenship?

Whilst this section of the questionnaire resulted in what first appeared to be a diverse set of responses, they can in fact be grouped into a relatively small number of categories:

Active citizenship (including voluntary work, being a good citizen);

Knowledge and understanding of the curriculum content;

Preparation for adulthood or life outside school; and

Personal development (discussion, debate and development of the self).

Active citizenship

The most common theme (n=87) running through the definitions was the perspective of active citizenship and demonstration of citizenship skills. Teachers seemed keen that citizenship be understood as a practical and demonstrative subject. The following examples are just a small selection of what was said on this theme:

About being an active, participating informed member of society (Teacher 42).

Following objections, rules, abiding to restrictions and cooperating/contributing towards the general well-being. Also being entitled to rights (Teacher 67).

Respondents sometimes elaborated on the theme of participation and believed that the subject should encourage a sense of personal autonomy, for example: "Enabling young people to be critically thinking agents of change within the local, national and global community" (Teacher 92) and "Thinking beyond the individual to how we impact others" (Teacher 109).

Knowledge and understanding of the curriculum content

Definitions included references to globalisation and the development of pupils' knowledge of issues beyond their school encompassing a sense of international responsibility. For example:

A wider appreciation of culture, socio-economics and the ability to survive in and contribute positively to your community (Teacher 82).

Our citizenship programme is about support of others through direct, self-driven actions, decisions and dynamic participation at a school, local and global level (Teacher 29).

Preparation for adulthood or life outside school

Some teachers felt that citizenship is about preparation for life:

Preparing pupils to live in the world outside of school and stand up for their rights and the rights of others both locally, nationally and internationally. To become active citizens (Teacher 68).

Educating pupils to be equipped for life beyond school as well as helping them develop as individuals within it (Teacher 60).

Personal development

Teachers commonly cited aspects of personal development as integral to the subject of citizenship. Some described the subject as a vehicle for teaching about communities, moral education and social interaction whilst others felt that it teaches valuable communication skills.

For example:

[Citizenship] centres on the inter relationship between individuals and groups; moral codes, conduct, support, etc. and the impact these have on the local and wider community. Resulting in improved self-esteem quality of life, confidence and feeling of well being (Teacher 25).

However, not all respondents were positive. The comments from the following respondents expressed disillusion with citizenship as a curriculum subject:

It is a politically motivated contrivance and a non-subject. It could have been a proper subject based upon an academic study of politics or law (or better!) a practical assessment of active citizenship. It does neither properly. It is also a left wing, metropolitan view of 'citizenship'; not a politically balanced consensual approach. It is very dangerous and an imposition upon teachers and pupils (Teacher 22).

It makes no difference to the behaviour/attitudes of my pupils because the pressures of the environment in which they live - high crime, drugs, violence, are the norm. The government has failed to improve attitudes - we have yob rule, they are hoping teachers can solve the problems where they have failed (Teacher 33).

It was a shame it [citizenship] left the school curriculum when the National Curriculum was brought in as it was there and in place in the 1970s and 1980s. I have finished my career, where I started it - says a lot about progress! (Teacher 80).

It is still not fully recognised as a subject. Assessment data bases don't recognise it and does not generate a separate citizenship report as a subject report electronically. The recent OFSTED inspection confused it with PSHE and sought no evidence of its structure, organisation, delivery or assessment (Teacher 108).

15. The following table contains statements about citizenship teaching and assessment and the way in which pupils, teachers and parents might perceive the subject.

Respondents were offered four possible responses: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree. All of the teachers answered all of the questions. The results are shown in Table 5.17 below as a percentage of responses – the highest percentage response rate per statement is emboldened.

Table 5.17: Responses to Statements (frequencies by category of response)

Statements		Strongly Disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)
A	The purpose of citizenship lessons is clear to staff and pupils in my school	0.0	23.1	63.2	13.7
B	Staff sometimes confuse citizenship with PSHE	5.1	19.7	57.3	17.9
C	Pupils understand why they have to study citizenship	4.3	29.1	59.8	6.8
D	Parents support the teaching of citizenship in this school	0.9	18.5	75.9	4.6
E	Pupils think citizenship is a waste of time	8.6	56.9	24.1	10.3
F	Staff were interested in the introduction of citizenship to the curriculum	11.7	50.5	37.8	0.0
G	The availability of more nationally recognised qualifications would improve pupils' motivation to study citizenship	9.7	29.2	44.2	16.8
H	The assessment structure of citizenship is difficult to manage	2.6	12.9	50.0	34.5
I	Parents understand that assessment structure of citizenship is different to assessment in other subjects	16.2	48.6	31.5	3.6
J	Pupils value all of their achievements in citizenship	6.2	39.8	49.6	4.4
K	The assessment structure of citizenship is not always clear to pupils	1.7	19.0	63.8	15.5
L	Schools could give achievement in citizenship a higher profile	3.4	13.8	57.8	25.0
M	The implementation of assessments of citizenship are generally straightforward	21.9	47.4	28.9	1.8
N	A qualification in citizenship is valued in the same way as a comparable qualification in other subjects	18.3	54.8	21.2	5.8

A *The purpose of citizenship lessons is clear to staff and pupils in my school*

It was expected that the majority of respondents would agree with this statement (63.2% ticked 'Agree') because teachers who answered this questionnaire were usually directly responsible for curriculum delivery. The responses to Question 7 show that over 70% of respondents had 'Quite a lot' or 'A great deal' of involvement with planning; therefore it would seem unlikely that they

would admit to a lack of clarity in implementation or subject delivery. However, almost one quarter of respondents (23.1%) ticked 'Disagree', suggesting that a reasonably significant proportion of respondents are not necessarily sure about the way in which citizenship lessons are perceived.

B Staff sometimes confuse citizenship with PSHE

Whilst citizenship is intended to be a subject in its own right it appears inextricably linked to PSHE. Therefore it was unsurprising to see that 57.3% of respondents agreed with this statement. Curriculum documentation, (see for example National Curriculum Guidance, QCA, 2000:4), links the two subjects stating that "citizenship is complemented by the framework for PSHE at key stages 3 and 4." (Interview data supports the data reported here; pupils felt that they are often unclear about the differences between the two subjects – see Chapter 6).

C Pupils understand why they have to study citizenship

Two thirds of respondents (66.6%) agreed or strongly agreed with this statement which suggests that the teachers who participated in this research believed their pupils understood the meaning of citizenship lessons. (Responses from the pupils' questionnaires support this, with the majority of pupil respondents indicating a positive response to similar statements, see page 175)

D Parents support the teaching of citizenship in this school

Four fifths of respondents (80.5%) felt that parents were supportive of citizenship lessons. When this study began, I was sceptical about parents' support for the compulsory teaching of citizenship. However, this assumption has turned out to be incorrect because less than a fifth (18.5%) of the teachers thought parents were unsupportive.

E Pupils think citizenship is a waste of time

This statement elicited the most disagreement of all the statements, with 56.9% of respondents ticking 'Disagree' and a further 8.6% ticking 'Strongly disagree'. This level of disagreement might be expected because teachers responsible for citizenship are likely, on the whole, to be keen to encourage pupils to engage with the subject.

F Staff were interested in the introduction of citizenship to the curriculum

Almost two-thirds of respondents (62.2%) ticked 'Disagree' or 'Strongly disagree'. The responses to Question 8 (Section B) indicated that there was a reasonably high level of involvement from other staff during the introduction of citizenship. However, the answers to the above statement would suggest that whilst other staff have been involved with the implementation of the subject, they are not necessarily interested in it.

G The availability of more nationally recognised qualifications would improve pupils' motivation to study citizenship

Whilst almost one third (29.2%) of respondents ticked 'Disagree', a larger number (61.0%) ticked 'Agree' and 'Strongly agree' expressing the belief that qualifications would help pupils with motivation. The answers to Question 13 (see Section C, page 153) – 'Does your school offer any specifications for citizenship?' – appears to be in conflict with the level of agreement shown with statement G. Just over a third of respondents (35.0%) offered a nationally recognised qualification, for example a GCSE, but the majority of teachers seemed reluctant to offer a specification. However, it could be argued that teachers would like to see *other* qualifications or awards, not necessarily GCSEs or similar, which recognise pupils' achievements in citizenship.

H The assessment structure of citizenship is difficult to manage

A total of 84.5% of teachers ticked 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree' in answer to this statement which provides a strong indication that there are problems related to management of the assessment

structure. Concern about planning and managing assessment is evident in many of the comments made at the end of the questionnaire; indicative views are shown below.

Assessing knowledge and skills is fairly straightforward but assessing participation is extremely difficult (Teacher 45).

Assessment is a nightmare. The balance between skills assessment and knowledge and understanding is unclear (Teacher 86).

I Parents understand that assessment structure of citizenship is different to assessment in other subjects

Almost half of the teachers (48.6%) disagreed with this statement which suggests that parents do not have an understanding of the assessment of citizenship. There are various grounds for this strength of belief which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

J Pupils value all of their achievements in citizenship

More than half of all respondents (54.0%) agreed or strongly agreed that pupils value their achievements. However, almost 40% disagreed and this level of disagreement is partially supported by comments from staff expressing a mixture of feelings about this topic from ambivalence: “Some of my pupils see the value, some don’t!” (Teacher 14), to a strident belief that “[citizenship is] not valued by parents, pupils, staff or anyone else in the world!” (Teacher 22).

K The assessment structure of citizenship is not always clear to pupils

The level of agreement with this statement was high, with more than three quarters (79.3%) of respondents ticking ‘Agree’ and ‘Strongly agree’. The lack of comparable assessment levels is the most common reason given for lack of clarity:

Assessment has been difficult to implement because of end of KS3 statements being too broad. [I am] gradually defining level criteria to aid assessment (Teacher 58).

Implementing assessment at KS3 is a nightmare. Many teachers find it hard without 8 levels and find it difficult to assess skills and knowledge (Teacher 76).

One respondent believed that their current method of appraising work was suitable and changing this would be detrimental to pupils' perceptions of their achievements:

Our pupils find intrinsic reward in the projects they design and run. To bolt on an artificial assessment structure would nullify this (Teacher 23).

L Schools could give achievement in citizenship a higher profile

With 82.8% of respondents ticking 'Agree' and 'Strongly agree', it would seem that teachers are, perhaps unsurprisingly, keen to see more recognition of pupils' achievements in citizenship. The difficulty seems to lie in resources and support (across the whole school) for the subject. The opinion of the Senior Management Team (SMT) appears to be a significant factor in the success of developing and recognising achievements: "The Head Teacher had decided not to offer either as a GCSE or AS" (Teacher 108). Another respondent claimed that there was a deep-seated resentment for the subject: "The school doesn't really want to do citizenship but it has to! The less the better from the school's point of view" (Teacher 64).

M The implementation of assessments of citizenship are generally straightforward

The strength of disagreement with this statement, (69.3%) of respondents ticked 'Disagree' and 'Strongly disagree', suggests that teachers really are struggling with assessment practice. Pupils are used to the levels and level descriptors used for their other subjects whereas in citizenship they are offered the option of 'Working towards', 'Working at' or 'Working beyond' the single descriptor (QCA, 2006). The comments from teachers range from simple statements to express the fundamental difficulty of assessment "Assessment structure is the biggest problem" (Teacher 28), to more detailed commentaries which criticise the policy: "Assessment is a minefield, lots of paperwork produced, but little straightforward guidance" (Teacher 82).

N A qualification in citizenship is valued in the same way as a comparable qualification in other subjects

The level of disagreement with this statement is clear. 73.1% ticked 'Disagree' or 'Strongly disagree' which is a strong indication that teachers feel citizenship still has some way to go before it will be seen as comparable with other subjects. This finding is mirrored by the pupils' responses to a statement in their questionnaire: 'A qualification in citizenship is not as useful as one in another subject' which found 64.4% of pupils ticking 'Agree' or 'Strongly Agree' (see page 177). Whilst it is perhaps to be expected that the status of citizenship has to have more time to develop, there are issues which might affect its value as a foundation curriculum subject. These were drawn out in the interviews (see Chapter 8).

5.1.5. Section E: Final Comments

16. If you have any comments about the introduction of citizenship and your experiences of implementing the teaching and assessment of the subject, please write them here.

Respondents were given space to write further comments and 63 teachers added some further information, or in two cases, used this opportunity to 'let off steam' about the problems they were having with citizenship. The comments fell into three categories:

1. Issues with implementation of the subject
2. Assessment: structure, validity, implementation
3. The status of the subject: both positive and negative

Issues with implementation of the subject

The most common issue relating to the subject seemed to be the level of support needed to implement citizenship effectively and to ensure that it has an appropriate amount of time allocated to it on a regular basis. Six respondents mentioned timetabling issues as a problematical part of the introduction of the subject. One respondent described it as "artificial and non-motivational" (Teacher 12), thus pupils did not engage with it. Another felt that the specification

was too restrictive, and claimed that it was like teaching the “British Constitution” (Teacher 89). Teachers seemed to feel that the subject was not supported by Senior Management in their schools and this led to its poor status in the eyes of pupils and other staff. One teacher felt that whilst other staff wanted to be helpful but lack the necessary information, “everyone in the school was in the dark as to what it was and how it should be monitored” (Teacher 112).

Assessment: structure, validity, implementation

Respondents who commented on assessment frequently mentioned the lack of levels of attainment in the key stage 3 assessments; two said that introducing attainment levels would ensure parity with other NC subjects. One teacher was concerned about the implications of this:

How can you have level 3 or level 6 citizens? I understand that this is about knowledge and understanding, but citizenship goes beyond knowledge (Teacher 77).

Teachers described the assessments as nightmarish (Teacher 76) or a minefield (Teacher 82). One teacher criticised the GCSE specification as being too crowded with different tasks and that they found the internal grading of work difficult due to the differences between citizenship and other core curriculum subjects.

The status of the subject: both positive and negative

Some respondents (for example, Teachers 37 and 91) considered the status of the subjects was affected by the lack of trained staff and by the confused structure for assessment. Making citizenship compulsory was criticised because teachers felt that pupils would rail against something that they were compelled to do. In contrast, other respondents were very positive about the subjects saying things such as:

Citizenship has been established in my school long before it became compulsory (Teacher 18).

Citizenship is one of the most important subjects on offer in the curriculum (Teacher 19).

Others (for example Teacher 76) commented that its status could be improved with a recognised qualification and more emphasis placed upon how the subject was relevant to the pupils; in short, teachers were concerned about the status of citizenship.

[A qualification] ensures that students buy-in to the subject. It is important that work is externally validated as it gives students a sense of self-worth (Teacher 54).

However, others argued against this and Teacher 63 believed that concentration upon exam results would be to the detriment of the subject. The teachers added comments with enthusiasm (n=63) and several added their contact details and offered to participate further.

5.1.6. Summary of findings from questionnaires to teachers

A total of 117 teachers returned questionnaires. Respondents were from a geographically-wide range of secondary schools across England and their teaching experience ranged from one to 38 years. Almost two thirds of the teachers taught one or two subjects in addition to citizenship, the most common being PSHE, History or Religious Education.

Only nine respondents had a PCGE qualification in citizenship and a lack of formal training in citizenship was evident for many of the teachers. Respondents were usually involved in the implementation of the citizenship curriculum and the most common methods of curriculum delivery were through cross-curricular teaching or a discrete slot in the timetable. The most popular modes of assessment were portfolios or written assessments of coursework. However, just over a quarter (27%) of respondents admitted that they did not assess citizenship after key stage 3 and very few (n=37) offered a GCSE specification. Schools that did not offer a GCSE argued that pupils were over-tested or that they lacked the necessary time and training to deliver the specifications. Whereas, those teachers who had chosen to offer a GCSE did so because they felt that it enhanced the status of the subject and was a fitting reward to two years of study.

The statements (Question 15) provide a broader approach to questioning and, whilst one teacher said that their answers did not always fall into one of the four categories, this is perhaps only to be expected because a full range of possible answers is not practical in a survey. What the responses to the statements indicate are the strength of feeling about some of the issues which are inherent in the implementation and delivery of the citizenship curriculum in the schools which responded to the survey. The results provided a clearer picture of what teachers think about the citizenship curriculum and their ideas about their pupils' perceptions. The most notable responses included a strongly positive belief about the purpose of citizenship (Statement A); a high level of support from parents for citizenship (Statement D); and pupils' value of the subject (Statement E). There was concern expressed about the way in which the subject is assessed (Statements K-N) with teachers indicating that assessments were often unclear and pupils' achievements could be given more prominence in school. Teachers did not find assessments easy to administer and also believed that pupils would not view a GCSE in citizenship as comparable with a GCSE in other subjects.

The teachers added a range of comments at the end of the questionnaires which included: Issues with implementation; the structure of assessment; and the status of the subject. Respondents asked for clarity about the purpose of citizenship as a subject and were also keen to explain the problems they had encountered with assessment. The status of the subject was frequently mentioned with some respondents stating that lack of training made them feel unconfident in their ability to deliver lessons and this was apparent to pupils. In the next part of this chapter, the results of the pupils' responses to questionnaires are discussed.

5.2. Responses from pupils

A questionnaire was prepared for pupils in Years 9, 10 and 11 – see Appendix F. The questionnaire was divided into four sections and the results are presented accordingly.

5.2.1. Section A: Your details

A summary of the respondents by year group and gender

Eleven schools (24.4%) returned 218 completed questionnaires from pupils; this was a response rate of 32.3%. The respondents are predominantly year 10 pupils and this was largely due to the time of year that the questionnaires were dispatched; the spring term is very busy leading up to GCSE coursework submissions and examinations together with end of key stage tests in year 9. Several schools explained that they did not have time to respond to the survey, therefore I had to be content with the numbers returned, which when combined, still provide a substantial data set. A more detailed profile of pupils' responses is shown in Table 5.18 below:

Table 5.18: Questionnaire responses (by year group and gender)

Year Group	All	Percent	Boys	Percent	Girls	Percent	Anon	Percent
11	57	26.1	25	21.7	29	30.9	3	33.3
10	99	45.5	56	48.7	38	40.4	5	55.6
9	62	28.4	34	29.6	27	28.7	1	11.1
Total	218	100.0	115	100.0	94	100.0	9	100.0

5.2.2. Section B: Your citizenship classes

Question 1: I have studied citizenship for X years?

The responses to this question ranged from 1 year to 7 years and are shown in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19: Number of years studying citizenship (by year group)

Number of Years	Year 9	Percent	Year 10	Percent	Year 11	Percent	All	Percent
1	2	3.2	0	0.0	13	22.8	15	6.9
2	10	16.1	26	26.3	1	1.8	37	17.0
3	49	79.0	24	24.2	11	19.3	84	38.5
4	0	0.0	41	41.4	9	15.8	50	22.9
5	1	1.6	0	0.0	18	31.6	19	8.7
6	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
7	0	0.0	1	1.0	5	8.8	6	2.8
0	0	0.0	5	5.1	0	0.0	5	2.7
No response	0	0.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Total	62	100.0	99	100.0	57	100.0	218	100.0

The mean number of years of study was 3.14. However, pupils in Year 11 were more likely to have studied the subject for longer: almost a third (31.6%) said that they had studied it for 5 years. These results reflect the fact that citizenship became statutory at key stages 3 and 4 from 2002; therefore pupils who were in Year 11 in April 2006 should have completed at least four years of study by the end of the current academic year. Nevertheless, other pupils had been learning about citizenship before 2002 because there were seven pupils who claimed to have studied it for six or seven years.

Question 2a: I can take GCSE (Short Course) in citizenship at my school.

As Table 5.20 (below) shows, two-thirds of pupils indicated that a GCSE was not available at their school.

Table 5.20: GCSE in citizenship offered at the pupil's school

	Year 9	Percent	Year 10	Percent	Year 11	Percent	All	Percent
Yes	8	12.9	32	32.3	28	49.1	68	31.2
No	53	85.5	65	65.5	29	50.1	147	67.4
No Answer	1	1.6	2	2.2	0	0.0	3	1.4
Total	62	100.0	99	100.0	57	100.0	218	100.0

To investigate whether pupils were enthusiastic about taking a GCSE qualification, they were asked if they intended to take a GCSE – if it was on offer in their school.

Question 2b: If yes, are you going to take a GCSE (short course) in citizenship?

The responses to this question are presented in Table 5.21 (below) and show that just under three-quarters of pupils (73.5%) intend to take the GCSE examination.

Table 5.21: Pupils taking a GCSE in citizenship

	Year 9	Percent (of all)	Year 10	Percent (of all)	Year 11	Percent (of all)	All	Percent
Yes	1	1.4	22	32.4	27	39.7	50	73.5
No	7	10.3	8	11.9	1	1.4	16	23.5
No Answer	0	0.0	2	2.9	0	0.0	2	3.0
Total	8		32		28		68	100.0

The largest number of those who answered ‘Yes’ to this question were pupils in year 11 (n=27) and year 10 (n=22) whereas just one pupil in year 9³⁹ indicated that they would be taking the qualification. Whilst these data suggest that taking a GCSE citizenship qualification is popular amongst the respondents in this research, it is important to be cautious of assuming that this is so because pupils might not actually *choose* to take the GCSE, rather it may be a *compulsory* course in that school.

If you answered No to Qu. 2b, please explain why you don’t want to take a GCSE in citizenship.

A total of 109 pupils answered this part of the question, some 84 more than had ticked ‘No’ in answer to question 2b which suggests that either the question was unclear, or that pupils did not read the question carefully. The most common response to this question (n=52 or 47.7%) was that a GCSE was not an option at the pupil’s school. However, other reasons were given for not taking a GCSE specification, falling under two general headings: Assessment Burden and Subject Interest.

Assessment Burden

The increase in the number of assessments and the pressure laid upon pupils is something that is of concern in schools (James, 2000). Pupils’ comments echo this anxiety: “I already do too many, I don’t want anymore” (Pupil 13). Twelve pupils said that they did too many GCSEs already and did not wish to add to their workload; five suggested that citizenship was also covered in other lessons, usually PSHE, saying things like: “We do it in PSE and also I do too many as it is” (Pupil 120) or “We already know about it and we do too many GCSEs” (Pupil 110).

Subject interest and status

Eight pupils said that the subject was boring or that they did not like it and they had no interest in taking a citizenship GCSE. Eight pupils also said that citizenship was covered in PSE lessons or

that they simply preferred other subjects saying for example: “I do it in PSE which is better” (Pupil 118).

Five pupils felt that citizenship was not a ‘useful’ subject or that a GCSE in citizenship would be of little value. A typical response was: “I don't understand how it will help me further in life” (Pupil 206). However, one pupil had mixed feelings: “I do not think I will use the actual GCSE in my life although the knowledge may be useful” (Pupil 181). Two pupils said that their school offered an alternative qualification to the GCSE short course, but did not state whether they were taking these options.

Question 3: You will probably have already submitted work to be assessed by your teacher. Please let me know what sort of work you handed in to be assessed.

Pupils were presented with a table listing the following seven methods of assessment:

1. Presentations
2. Written Coursework
3. Games and Quizzes
4. Portfolios and Diaries
5. Written Tests
6. Video and Audio
7. Other.

The frequencies with which pupils experienced the different assessments are presented in Table 5.22 below. The number of modes ranged from zero to seven with almost a third of pupils (29.4%) having experienced two modes of assessment and a further quarter (24.3%) having experienced one mode.

Table 5.22: Summary of the number of modes experienced (by pupil)

Number of modes	Count	Percent
0	15	6.9
1	53	24.3
2	64	29.4
3	33	15.1
4	24	11.0
5	14	6.4
6	12	5.5
7	3	1.4
Total	218	100.0

An unexpected finding was the number of pupils (13.3%) who claimed that they had experienced five or more modes of assessment. This figure was higher than expected because, as yet, variation in modes of assessment for citizenship appears to be limited and schools have been criticised for this failing (see OFSTED, 2006). As Table 5.23 below shows, all of the assessment techniques suggested had been experienced. The results are presented by year group and a summary of all responses across the year groups.

Table 5.23: Summary of responses to Question 3 (modes of assessment)

Assessment Types	Year 9	%	Year 10	%	Year 11	%	All	%
Presentations	25	18.4	67	31.5	15	20.0	107	25.2
Written Coursework	15	11.0	31	14.6	35	42.7	78	18.4
Games and Quizzes	35	25.7	24	11.3	8	10.7	67	15.8
Portfolios and Diaries	12	8.8	44	20.7	6	8.0	62	14.6
Written Tests	10	7.4	31	14.6	10	14.7	52	12.3
Video and Audio	30	22.1	7	3.3	1	1.3	38	9.0
Other	9	6.6	9	4.2	2	2.7	20	4.7
Total	136	100.0	213	100.0	85	100.0	424	100.0

‘Presentations’ were the most common mode of assessment used for all pupils; however, Table 5.23 shows that this mode is used more often in Year 10 (31.5%) than in Years 9 (18.4%) and 11 (20.0%). Some twenty percent of all respondents indicated that ‘Written Coursework’ was used as part of their assessment of citizenship. This mode is most common with Year 11 pupils with 42.7% of respondents ticking that they had experienced it. It was expected that the increased use of ‘Written Coursework’ with Year 11 pupils was due to the likelihood of pupils preparing for GCSE qualifications.

‘Games/Quizzes’ and ‘Portfolios/Diaries’ to assess pupils’ learning were reported in about 30 percent of responses. ‘Written Tests’ were less commonly used for assessing citizenship in the pupils’ schools, accounting for just 12% of responses, and ‘Video and Audio’ methods of assessment were the least used with just 38 (9.0%) pupils ticking this option. Twenty pupils ticked ‘Other’ and described a range of alternative methods used to assess their achievements, including: posters (n=4), worksheets (n=3), production of a website (n=2) and project work (n=3). Just one pupil said that they had not been assessed at all.

5.2.3. Section C: What You Think About Citizenship

Question 4: This section presents statements about the citizenship curriculum in your school. Read each statement and think about whether you agree with it or not.

Pupils were asked to respond to the statements by selecting one answer from the following options: Strongly Disagree, Don’t Agree, Agree or Strongly Agree. The number of pupils responding to statements varied from 192 for Statement G to 215 for Statement D. The percentage frequency of responses is shown in Table 5.24 below with the dominant response for each statement emboldened for emphasis. Not all pupils ticked a response to all questions; two pupils ticked every box in one column and another two pupils ticked nothing at all. Whilst it is not possible to claim that these particular responses realistically represented the beliefs or opinions of the pupils, they were included in the data set because they still constitute responses. Statements A to F attracted more ticks than statements G to L: eight pupils appeared to have ‘given up’ at the halfway point and stopped answering after statement F. However, the majority of pupils provided a response for each statement and this has helped develop a general picture of pupils’ perceptions.

Table 5.24: Responses to Statements (frequencies by category of response)

Statement		Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly Agree (%)
A	Citizenship classes teach me about useful things	3.3	10.9	73.0	12.8
B	I should be able to choose whether or not I take a course in citizenship	3.3	14.5	42.1	40.2
C	Taking a course in citizenship is a waste of time	13.9	50.7	24.4	11.0
D	It is important that the purpose of citizenship lessons is understood by pupils	3.3	8.4	71.2	17.2
E	Learning about citizenship is worthwhile for children	5.2	20.3	64.6	9.9
F	I don't need someone to teach me about citizenship	9.1	62.0	19.2	9.6
G	The tests we take in citizenship are difficult to understand	13.2	57.1	22.0	7.7
H	I would like to be able to take an exam which leads to a qualification in citizenship (for example, a GCSE)	23.9	33.8	33.8	8.5
I	It is hard to test what we have learnt in citizenship lessons	3.0	34.5	51.8	10.7
J	A qualification in citizenship is not as useful as one in another subject	5.3	30.3	46.6	17.8
K	A good mark in citizenship means that I am a good citizen	21.5	54.6	21.5	2.4
L	It is easy to do well in citizenship tests	10.9	43.8	35.9	9.4

A summary of the responses to each statement is presented below. I expected that the variables of gender and year group might affect the way in which pupils responded to statements in Question 4, so linear regression analysis was one of the methods used to analyse the pupils' responses to the statements. This type of analysis is particularly appropriate for this type of data because, as Brace, Kemp and Snelgar (2003) state, it allows the researcher to predict the pupils' score on one variable (responses to the statements) on the basis of their scores on several other variables (gender and year group). Using this method it was possible to ascertain not only the differences (if they existed) between year groups and between the boys and girls, but also, through the creation of an additional 'dummy' variable, the *extent* to which boys' and girls' responses differed across the year groups. All of the responses to the statements were tested using SPSS statistical software. (A further explanation of regression analyses for use in educational research is in Muijs, 2004).

Responses to three of the statements (D, G and H) were found to be statistically significant; these results are presented in the following section. It should be noted that whilst the other responses to statements were not found to be *statistically* significant using the linear regression analysis, the reader should not presume that the results are necessarily *insignificant*. Significance should be judged upon its relevance to the aims of the study and to the validity of the methods of data collection and interpretation, not solely upon whether a result is measurable using a bivariate or multivariate statistical technique (Smith and Taylor, 2004). The results are significant in a range of ways and no one method of interpretation should be assumed to be more important than another.

A: Citizenship classes teach me about useful things

Pupils' responses to this statement were generally positive with the majority of pupils (85.8%) ticking 'Agree' or 'Strongly Agree' in response to this statement.

B: I should be able to choose whether or not I take a course in citizenship

The strength of feeling about the right of pupils to choose a course of study in citizenship is reflected in the fact that 80.7% (n=90) of respondents ticked either 'Agree' or 'Strongly Agree' in response to this statement.

C: Taking a course in citizenship is a waste of time

A substantial proportion of pupils (64.6%) ticked 'Disagree' or 'Strongly disagree' in answer to this statement which is consistent with the responses to Statement A which are overwhelmingly positive about the usefulness of what they are taught. Responses to this statement (C) confirm that most pupils believe the subject to be of value and do not believe that they are wasting their time learning about it.

D: It is important that the purpose of citizenship lessons is understood by pupils

The vast majority of pupils (88.4%) agreed or strongly agreed that it was important that they understand the purpose of citizenship lessons. A significant result emerged from the regression analysis ($F_{3, 214}=2.56$, $p\leq 0.05$). The year group factor was found to be significant with the pupils' levels of agreement with the statement increasing with age, i.e. pupils in year 9 tended to disagree with the statement, but responses from pupils in year 11 show a higher level of agreement suggesting that they believe the subject to be important.

E: Learning about citizenship is worthwhile for children

This statement checks consistency of answers compared to Statement A and with well over half respondents (64.6%) ticking 'Agree' and a further 9.9% ticking 'Strongly agree', it is fairly safe to assume that their answers are, at best genuine or, at least consistent.

F: I don't need someone to teach me about citizenship

Pupils seem to believe that they do need to be taught about citizenship because nearly three-quarters of them (71.1%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with Statement F.

G: The tests we take in citizenship are difficult to understand

Almost three-quarters of pupils (70.3%) disagree or strongly disagree with the notion that the tests they take in citizenship are difficult to understand. The regression analysis revealed that both the gender and dummy variables were significant ($F_{3, 214}=3.084$, $p\leq 0.05$). This result suggests that the perceived degree of ease regarding the tests, as expressed by the girls, was stronger when compared to the boys. In short, the girls were more likely to disagree more strongly with this statement than their male peers suggesting that they found the tests less difficult to understand.

H: I would like to be able to take an exam which leads to a qualification in citizenship (e.g., a GCSE)

Pupils were split in their responses to this statement with one-third (33.8%) indicating agreement and a further third disagreeing (33.8%) about whether they would like to be able to take an exam which leads to a qualification in citizenship. The results of the linear regression found that the year group was significant in pupils' answers to this statement ($F_{3, 214}=8.084, p\leq 0.05$). Their level of agreement increased with age: that is, pupils in year 9 were more likely to disagree with this statement than their peers in year 11.

I: It is hard to test what we have learnt in citizenship lessons

A substantial number of pupils (62.5%) agree or strongly agree that it is hard to test what they have learnt in citizenship lessons.

J: A qualification in citizenship is not as useful as one in another subject

It seems that most pupils believe a qualification in citizenship is *not* as useful as one in another subject (64.4% ticked 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree'). These responses from pupils are mirrored by the responses from teaching staff (73.1% of whom believed that pupils do not value the subject in the same way as other subjects see page 164 above). This does not necessarily bode well for the future of the examination.

K: A good mark in citizenship means that I am a good citizen

Teachers often commented that they fear misinterpretation of testing in citizenship – this is supported from evidence in both the questionnaires and the interviews (see pages 238-9). However, it would seem that pupils are not unduly concerned about how assessments reflect on them as a citizen and do not necessarily believe that a good mark in citizenship means that they

are a good citizen: three-quarters of them (76.1%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement.

L: It is easy to do well in citizenship tests

More than a half of all pupils (54.7%) expressed disagreement or strong disagreement with this statement and, therefore, believe that it is hard to do well in citizenship tests. When answering Statement G, pupils were confident that the tests they take for citizenship were understandable; however they do not believe that this means they can necessarily achieve well in them. It could be that their concern about the structure and validity of citizenship assessments (expressed in their responses to Statement I) has affected their answers on this occasion.

5. What is citizenship? Try to explain what you think the subject of citizenship is about. There is no right or wrong answer to this question. I am collecting as many different definitions as I can from pupils in England.

As might be expected, the answers to this question were varied from a simple answer, for example “useful” or “a lesson” or at the other end of the spectrum, “crap”, but other pupils engaged further with the task and many wrote quite comprehensive definitions. Common themes emerged from the data and these were divided into the categories shown below together with a representative selection of quotations to illustrate the breadth of response:

- A lesson about ‘life’
- Rights, responsibilities and values
- Obeying rules and ‘being good’
- Community and global notions of citizenship
- PSHE and citizenship: there was evidence of a confusion regarding content
- Negative perceptions of the subject

A lesson about ‘life’

Pupils appeared to have a positive attitude towards the notion that citizenship was teaching them something of use which was applicable to their daily lives; some definitions were very general,

saying things like “About everyday life” (Pupil 24) or “A lesson on most things in life” (Pupil 173). Other pupils provided answers which were more detailed and hinted at a deeper understanding of some aspects of the subject and how it relates to the individual. Pupils said things such as: “Learning about life, dos and don'ts and being a person who you want to be and not what others want you to be” (Pupil 167), or “Learning about the world and the everyday things in life. It’s also learning about your community and how to deal with problems” (Pupil 21).

Rights, responsibilities and values

Pupils who mentioned rights often mentioned specific knowledge such as human rights, children’s rights and legal rights/responsibilities. Pupils were convinced that learning about their rights was important and some were able to articulate how this can be extended to appreciate the rights and needs of others, as the following examples demonstrate:

About other people not just ourself [sic] and learning about people’s behaviour and what I can and can't do” (Pupil 186)

About the rights we have as citizens of a country. Learning about our country how it works, run and how we fit in (Pupil 32).

Pupils appear to understand that there are legal rights they have as well as laws which affect them; twenty pupils mentioned legal aspects of citizenship, such as “Following the rules of society, not breaking the law, helping the community function properly, sticking up for what is right in the society...” (Pupil 75) and “Learning how to live in the modern world and understand the laws and how the country is run” (Pupil 85). One pupil recognised that citizenship is fundamentally important to their life: “[It’s] One of the most important subjects at school simply because it teaches you rights and wrongs. It tells you about laws and can keep you away from prison.” (Pupil 137).

Community and global notions of citizenship

Many pupils mentioned that citizenship evoked a sense of community saying things such as:

[It is] about how citizens react and act within a community. To be a good citizen you need to respect people, obey the laws of the country” (Pupil 83) or “[It is] A way of teaching us about our community. We are informed on laws and how to be a good citizen (Pupil 94).

Other pupils extended the notion of community to include a global perspective on citizenship, for example: “Different information about things to do with the world and different topics which can be useful or not depending on the person/citizen or not” (Pupil 144).

Pupils suggested that citizenship taught them things which related to them at a more localised level:

The way we interact in groups the way we behave towards others, the way we are treated by the society in which we belong (Pupil 53).

Making young people informed of what goes on in our community and what could be done to make where we live a safer place, so basically to make people aware (Pupil 142).

Obeying rules and ‘being good’

Some respondents felt that citizenship was about being good, or a good person:

It’s about being a good citizen and not being horrible outside (Pupil 160).
[It is] being a very, very, very good person or peoples (Pupil 211).

Other pupils extended this notion of citizenship as being good to include compliant and obedient behaviours:

...being a good citizen, obey rules, help people etc. (Pupil 82)
When you follow the rules of society to be a good citizen (Pupil 77).

PSHE and citizenship: evidence of a confusion regarding content

A minority of pupils (n=6) mentioned very specific topics in their definitions and it was common for them to mention subjects which, technically, fall within the remit of the PSHE curriculum:

Where we learn about different topics like alcohol, drugs and sex (Pupil 187).
When you learn about stuff you don't know much about like drugs, alcohol, effects, causes (Pupil 209).

Other pupils mentioned PSHE topics *together* with citizenship topics: "...learning about life, drugs, government, social, media, and other things and to be a good person" (Pupil 172).

Negative definitions

Only six pupils wrote negative definitions or comments in this section of the questionnaire, whilst two respondents were honest enough to admit their ignorance of what the subject means:

I don't really understand what citizenship is, I do sort of no [sic] but I'm not clear on understanding it (Pupil 16).

I'm not entirely sure. I don't actually know (Pupil 6).

Two pupils declared citizenship "crap", one described it as "Boring and about drugs" whilst another who was less than enthusiastic about the subject articulated his opinion more successfully:

A lesson that the prime minister has decided is mandatory in public schools. My opinion is that citizenship is a waste of time and bares [sic] no real educational value (Pupil 5).

5.2.4. Section D: Final comments

Forty-eight pupils wrote comments in the final section; once the single word comments such as "boring" and "none" were extracted, the data were categorised under three headings:

Perception of the subject

Content and delivery of the lesson

Perception of the GCSE qualification

Perception of the subject

Ten pupils had only negative things to say about having to take citizenship lessons. Their comments were based upon the premise that the time could be more wisely spent on revising for other subjects, particularly in years 10 and 11. The following quotation exemplifies their candid attitude:

I think citizenship from Year 10 should be optional as it can be a waste of time especially leading up to GCSEs. To put it plainly, it's a time waster lesson (Pupil 45).

Content and delivery of the lesson

Twenty-six pupils commented on aspects of the content and delivery of their citizenship lessons and just six felt that it was boring and did not teach them anything of use. Twelve pupils were enthusiastic about the subject and described the lessons as “fun” and “interesting” with one pupil going so far as to state that “Citizenship should be made a compulsory lesson!” (Pupil 40).

The remaining respondents wrote comments about how they felt the delivery could be improved: they wanted the lessons to be more dynamic and more “fun” and they suggested that a wider range of media, for example videos and presentations, could be used more often.

Perception of the GCSE qualification

Six pupils commented on the GCSE short course. Three felt that the qualification was not worth doing because it was only half a GCSE and therefore had no value particularly when it was offered without the chance to do a short course in RE at the same time:

What's the point? It's not a full qualification and is worth nothing without a short course RE (Pupil 6).

One pupil stated that the subject was pointless because they did not *get* a GCSE in it, but two others were more positive, saying that they would like to have the opportunity to take a GCSE because if they had to study the subject then they may as well get something out of it.

5.2.5. Summary of the chapter

Through analysis of the 218 pupil questionnaires, it has been possible to construct a picture of their responses to the citizenship curriculum and the kinds of assessments that they have

experienced. The respondents were from a geographically-wide range of schools and all had experience of citizenship lessons. The findings revealed that pupils are not always clear about the differences between citizenship and PSHE and that they are not always convinced about how to assess what they had learned. Pupils had strong views about the use of GCSE specifications and most were doubtful about the value of a GCSE in citizenship compared to the other subjects that they had studied. Their responses to the statements, particularly those relating to assessment, revealed three statistically significant differences: one relating to gender and the others to year groups. The importance of understanding citizenship and the value of qualifications appears to be affected by pupils' ages. Overall, pupils felt that citizenship was worth studying and that they did need lessons in the subject. Pupils were unsure about whether they wanted to study for a qualification and the linear regression revealed that younger pupils (Year 9) were more resistant to the idea of taking a GCSE (or similar) compared to their older peers (Years 10 and 11). Pupils' reluctance to study for a qualification was also evident in their later answers to statements where the majority felt that a qualification in citizenship would not be valuable.

Pupils' perceptions of the subject of citizenship revealed a wider range of responses some of which reflected the teachers' answers, for example lessons about life after school or learning about rights and their community. Pupils' answers revealed confusion between citizenship curriculum content and the PSHE curriculum, but the majority of respondents seemed to value their citizenship lessons.

There were some similarities between the responses of the teachers and the pupils: both groups tended to agree that whilst a GCSE in citizenship would not be of value, it is a useful subject to learn about. However, it is important to note some differences: the teachers tended to believe that pupils might be confused about the meaning of assessments and that citizenship could be seen as a judge of personal worth. However, pupils were under no illusion that their grades in citizenship were a reflection of the individual. Pupils tended to want to see the use of more, different types of assessment whereas the teachers tended to have a more conservative view of assessment delivery

which was aligned with preparation for the end of key stage tests or a GCSE qualification. Most teachers felt that the assessment structure was difficult to administer and for pupils to understand and this was supported by pupils who tended to find their tests straightforward but did not find it easy to achieve well in them.

The results of the questionnaire survey provide a picture of teachers' and pupils' attitudes. These data are particularly useful in helping to understand approaches to subject delivery and how different schools are tackling the assessment of citizenship. The responses to the questionnaires help with the development of the interview process as they provided further guidance and ideas for questions. None of the teachers or pupils who participated in the interviews completed questionnaires; this was because I had decided that the survey should be anonymous. I was further concerned that had pupils or teachers completed a questionnaire in advance of the interview, this might have influenced their responses to the interview questions. The next three chapters report the results of the interviews: Chapter 6 comprises the results from pupils, Chapter 7 the results from the teachers and Chapter 8 provides a summary of the three results chapters.

CHAPTER 6. RESULTS - INTERVIEWS WITH PUPILS

6.1. Responses from pupils

Participants

A total of 29 interviews were conducted with 58 pupils in years 9, 10 and 11 in 14 state-maintained secondary schools. Details of the respondents are shown in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1: Pupil interviewees (by year group)

	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Total
Boy	6	11	5	22
Girl	8	13	15	36
Total	14	24	20	58

Interviews generally lasted about 30 minutes with pairs of pupils being interviewed together. In just one school the interviews were conducted in the presence of a teacher (who sat at a nearby table) because the school policy did not allow visitors to be left alone with pupils. Pupils were informed that all interview data was confidential and I explained that they could withdraw from the interview or ask for their contributions to be excluded if they wished. The pupils were usually interviewed in a classroom or office and the discussions were audio-recorded. Pupils seemed to speak freely and all participated in the interview process without excessive prompting.

An interview schedule (Appendix D) was used to elicit discussion and questions were used as prompts to draw ideas and opinions from the pupils. The paired technique of interviewing worked well. There was just one interview (with two male, year 10 pupils) which resulted in very little data due to the reluctance of the pupils to respond to questioning. However, most pupils seemed interested in the research, enjoyed having the time out of lessons and the majority asked questions about the purpose of the research.

6.1.2. Transcribing and analysing the data

The data were transcribed from digital audio files to a word processed format over the course of six weeks. I gave copies of the audio files and printed transcriptions to two colleagues for independent checking. They read sections of the transcriptions whilst listening to the recordings and commented on the quality of the transcriptions. This process ensured the validity of content and provided me with reassurance because the transcription process is very arduous and it is easy to mistype or misrepresent what interviewees say when engaged in the transcription of large amounts of data.

During the transcription process, I categorised the data under the following conceptual headings:

1. Learning about citizenship
2. Talking about the lessons and assessments
3. The value of citizenship
4. Using citizenship

Figure 6.2 below shows the process of conceptual and category development from column 1: Concepts and initial categories; column 2: Second reading; column 3: Third reading; and column 4: Final categorisation for writing up. The analytical process used was Neuman's Successive Approximation (2003). This method of analysis begins with the construction of a conceptual framework (column 1) which is based upon what I predicted are the key concepts and categories within the dataset. As each reading of the transcripts proceeds, the emerging themes and/or categories are compared to the original framework of concepts and new themes are added (columns 2 and 3). After each reading I reviewed and adjusted the concepts/themes so that eventually the framework was reconstructed to approximate the full datasets from the interviews. Finally, the framework was amended and categories subsumed under conceptual headings so that the data could be presented in a coherent way within the thesis (column 4). The results are

presented in the same order as the final concepts (column 4) with each category discussed and exemplified using quotations from the interviews.

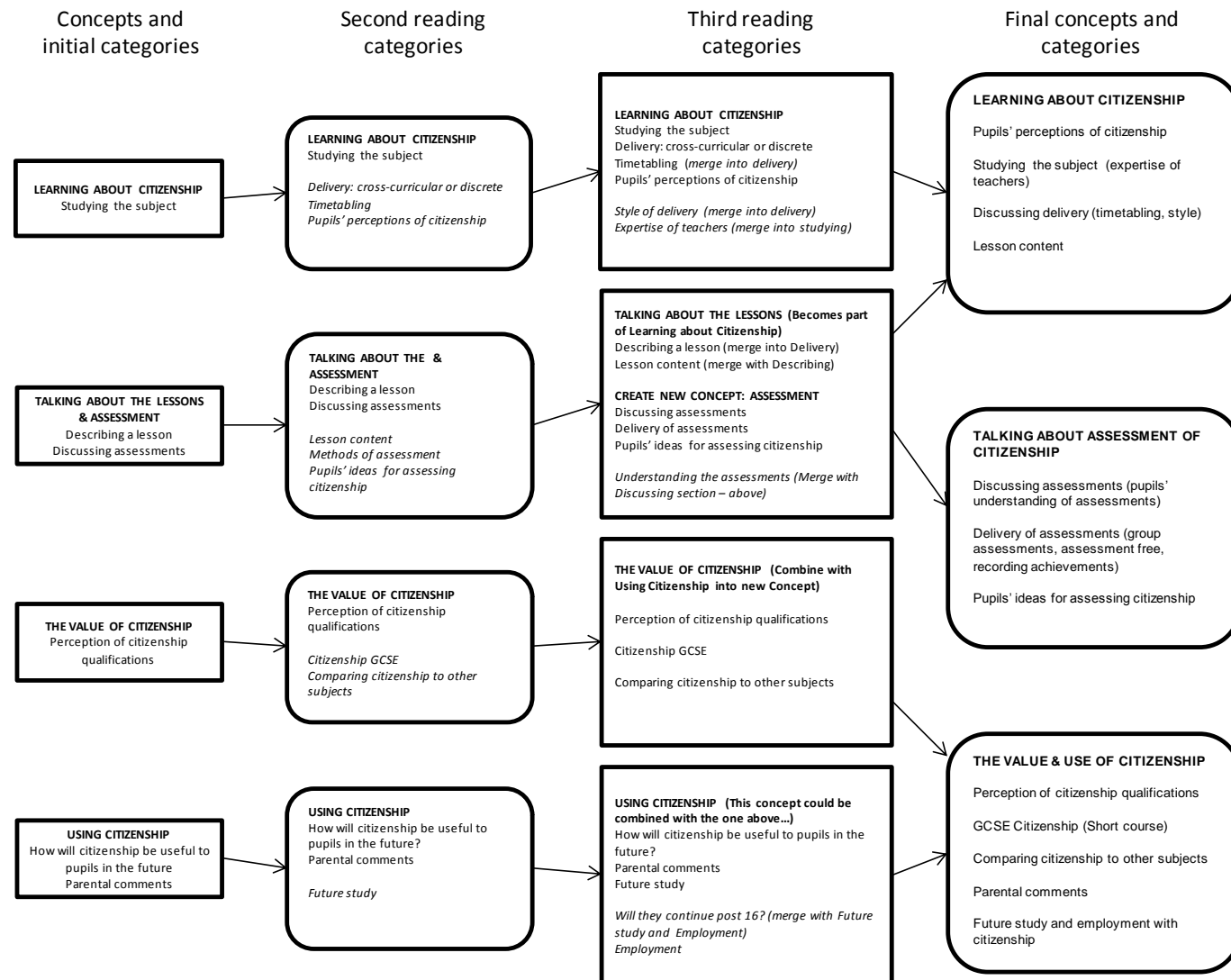
The results are presented in the same order as the final concepts (column 4) with each category discussed and exemplified using quotations from the interviews. Quotations are followed by a code, e.g. A/10/A, which refers to the interviewees:

A letter code for their school: A, B, C etc.

Year group: 9, 10 or 11

Interview pair A or B: in three schools two or more pairs of year 9 pupils was interviewed, so to differentiate between the pairs, an additional letter code was used.

Figure 6.2: Development of interview concepts and categories



6.1.3. Concepts and categories

As Figure 6.2 above shows, the data analysis resulted in 20 categories by the third reading. All of these categories are pertinent to answering the questions which are the foundation for this research, but as with the responses from the teachers, it was possible to subsume categories under a smaller range of headings so that the final reporting of the results is presented in a more manageable format. The final concepts and categories comprised three overall concepts and 12 categories:

Learning about citizenship

- Pupils' perceptions of citizenship
- Studying the subject (expertise of the teachers)
- Discussing delivery (timetabling, style)
- Lesson content

Talking about assessment of citizenship

- Discussing assessments (pupils' understanding of assessments)
- Delivery of assessment (group assessments, assessment-free, recording achievement)
- Pupils' ideas for assessing citizenship

The value and use of citizenship

- Perception of citizenship qualifications
- GCSE Citizenship short course
- Comparing citizenship to other subjects
- Parental comments
- Future study and employment with citizenship

6.2. Learning about citizenship

The first question that the pupils were asked was usually something like "So, you have to study citizenship now; what do you think about it? Do you like the subject?"

On the whole, pupils seemed to like their citizenship lessons. They claimed that issues such as timetabling and content had a negative effect upon the way in which they perceived the subject, but pupils also said that they felt learning about issues such as diversity, legal rights and voluntary activities in their schools and communities were all important to them. Pupils in all year groups said that citizenship taught them about everyday life and, because the lessons were unusual when compared to their other lessons, they appreciated the content. Pupils in year 11 tended to cite the life skills aspects of citizenship and the political knowledge as important to them:

I think it is a really good way of preparing you for after school... when we started in year 10, we didn't really know about politics but now I've realised how important it is and who we voted in is who we live under and what they decide is very important to us (Pupil F/11).

Pupils in years 9 and 10 were more likely to focus on the rights and legal aspects of the curriculum; issues which they felt were most pertinent to them. But the majority of the pupils interviewed believed that citizenship gave them skills which they could use to help others and contribute to their community. The following quotation sums up the kinds of things that pupils said:

I think that citizenship is about learning how to be, to take up a greater role in the community; to be able to help other people as much as possible. You can show that you are prepared to take a more responsible role (Pupil M/9B).

However, another year 9 pupil in the same school explained that whilst most of her peers were interested in the lessons because they were different from other subjects, they were not exactly sure what citizenship was really for and what it meant, "...[citizenship] is not something that we usually learn about so we don't really understand what it is" (Pupil M/9A).

It was common for pupils to say that their peers often felt that citizenship was an 'easy' lesson or, in their language, a 'doss' lesson. Whilst pupils felt that the delivery of citizenship made classes enjoyable, this also seems to send a mixed message to pupils that a less didactic approach to teaching means the subject itself is less important. The following conversation with two girls exemplifies such views:

1 It's okay, but I think that a lot of people see it as a doss lesson...

- M Why do you think that is?
- 1 Because, I don't know, it's seems just like, it's in your form; and it's quite civilised and it's quite chilled and not a lot of work goes on...
- 2 'Cos we normally watch videos and things like that, don't we?
- 1 And we have discussions on the written work, so there's not much proof of written work, but we do actually have to talk about things and issues (Pupils B/9B).

Two female pupils in school C said that their citizenship classes were very noisy and were often disrupted by a group of boys. They added that they did not respect citizenship because it was a *compulsory* lesson and they had *not* chosen to do it. This is an unusual attitude regarding the compulsory nature of citizenship. Pupils generally held compulsory subjects in higher esteem; they believed that making citizenship compulsory was important because: "It's good that they [other pupils] should know what's going on in the world" (Pupil J/11), but the two pupils in school C would disagree. One explained their belief:

If it was, like, something I'd chosen, then you are definitely interested in it whereas some things like Religion and Personal Studies you are not as interested in (Pupil C/10).

Whilst pupils agreed that on the whole they liked citizenship, it was not necessarily the lessons themselves that were popular; rather it was the opportunity to do a subject that was less-formal and therefore meant that they (and their peers) did not have to work very hard. This is not necessarily a good thing for the subject's reputation: "It's a doss lesson because, like, that and RE, they are not really viewed as real subjects" (Pupil K/10) and "It's relaxing and you don't have to work your brain really hard" (Pupil B/10). Such negative perceptions bolster the notion that citizenship is a subject which lacks value:

It's not as important as, like, maths or English (Pupil C/10).
It's not really taught. It's a kind of muck-about lesson really, so everyone comes in and sits down and talks (Pupil H/11).

Pupils in school H felt that citizenship should not be compulsory for them because they already had a large number of subjects to study at GCSE level (10 each) and they felt that having to study something which had no qualification attached was a "waste" of a lesson. This feeling was echoed by pupils in year 11 who believed that their time would be better spent revising for others subjects;

pupils in school D explained that whilst they understood that school was preparing them for the world outside, learning about citizenship was “a waste of time because we could have been doing coursework in it [the citizenship lesson]” (Pupil D/11).

Pupils said that they did not get the kinds of information available in citizenship from other lessons: “It is good because otherwise people might not be aware of what’s going on around them and they might think they are doing what’s right but it might not be right” (Pupil N/9). Developing an understanding of other cultures was also seen as an important aspect of pupils’ learning. Pupils often said that they learnt about cultural issues in their Religious Education lessons, but most of their understanding came from citizenship and so citizenship was seen as a way of developing greater understanding and tolerance between different groups of people. Pupils in year 11 were more likely to mention the political education which was a part of their citizenship lessons; it seems that this part of the curriculum was perceived as valuable. I had expected some cynicism on the part of pupils, but this was not evident in any of the discussions about political understanding.

6.2.1. Expertise of teachers

Two pupils in year 10 questioned the training of teachers for citizenship. They asked why teachers did not specialise in citizenship or PSHE and said that they did not take the staff responsible for citizenship seriously. One explained his reasoning:

I don’t understand why we get a qualified teacher in every other subject but not in citizenship. Some people take it as a joke. I think that it’s taught in the wrong way; I think you should get proper teachers and I think it [citizenship] should be taught more often (Pupil D/10).

A pupil in school J said that the lack of training was apparent because the teachers did not inspire the pupils; he claimed: “[Citizenship] is thought of as a doss lesson because of the teachers we have... well there’s no one dynamic” (Pupil J/10). Year 11 pupils used the term ‘doss’ on fewer occasions, but they remained critical of some teachers; for example in School H, the pupils were not convinced that the teachers who delivered citizenship were experienced enough: “I think that

the teachers don't know how to teach it...I don't think that they know themselves what it is about" (Pupil H/11). The teachers in this school might agree with these sentiments because none had received any formal training in the subject. Such findings concur with Leighton's (2006) argument that

[saying that] it doesn't matter who teaches Citizenship denigrates both the subject and the staff involved and limits the opportunities for school students to understand and to make progress (*ibid*:83).

The interviews revealed a level of disaffection on the part of some pupils; for example year 10 pupils in three schools were 'victims' of regular changes in staffing and the use of supply teachers to teach citizenship. Pupils complained that provision was not adequate and they often missed citizenship lessons because no teacher was available. They said that it was evident when the teacher was inexperienced or underprepared and this made the lesson seem less valuable. In one school the pupils said that *teachers* had admitted that lesson planning was inadequate. They claimed that staff were given lesson plans for PSHE at short notice and this had an impact upon lesson delivery:

I don't know if they find it as important if they only get it [the lesson plan] in the lesson before because some teachers prepare lessons like a week before, but for PSHE they don't...it's not giving off the right signals (Pupil J/10).

6.2.2. Discussing delivery

Adjectives such as "relaxed", "friendly", "chilled" and "fun" peppered the descriptions of citizenship lessons. Pupils liked the style of delivery, particularly the fact that they did not have to write so much in citizenship lessons. (Being tired of writing is a common complaint from pupils (Richardson *et al*, 2002). Naturally, in some lessons the content was less interesting to some pupils, but the discursive nature of the lessons was always popular:

I like the group discussions and stuff like that but then we have to write stuff down then I'm not really, I don't really learn better from just writing it down (Pupil C/10).

When I compared the way that teachers described lesson delivery with the way in which the pupils perceived it, no differences were found between the two groups. In schools where the subject is

delivered in a cross-curricular way, I had expected that pupils might voice some confusion about when and where they learn about citizenship, but this assumption was unfounded. Pupils described how citizenship learning outcomes were explained to them and they kept records of them usually in a notebook or in a citizenship diary. In three schools citizenship was delivered as part of a rolling programme. For example, in the autumn term they had one lesson a week of PSHE, in the spring term they had one lesson of citizenship and in the summer, one lesson in careers. In just one school (N), pupils explained that there were no citizenship lessons at all from year 9 onwards.

6.2.3. Timetabling

Pupils were usually aware of *when* citizenship lessons took place. In eight of the 14 schools it was a discrete subject with its own timetable slot, in five of the schools it was delivered through other subjects or in tutor time, and in one school there was no teaching of citizenship during key stages 3 and 4. The timetabling of the subject appears to have a significant influence upon how pupils perceive it. There is an assumption that when a subject does not appear in a regular timetable slot like all of the other subjects, it is considered less important. These pupils explained:

- 1 It's not in the timetable because you don't, like, think of it but in your head subconsciously you've got, like, English, maths and science, 'cos they are, like, the main ones, but then you've got, like, stuff like history, geography and PE and then, like, there is RE and PSHE
- 2 It only happens once a week so, you, like, forget about it...
- 1 You only have it once every two weeks or once a week and because of how many times you have them, it just makes them seem not as important (Pupils N/9).

Other pupils echoed these sentiments and explained that it was because the subject did not have its own title, let alone a timetable slot, that they did not feel compelled to take it seriously. Citizenship is often included in a lesson that can have a range of names: Personal Social Health and Citizenship Education (PSHCE); Personal Education (PE); and Citizenship and Social Education (CSE) to name just three. Thus, citizenship is often seen as a *combined* subject in the minds of pupils. Indeed, as one year 10 pupil asked at the end of the interview: "What is the difference between Citizenship and PSHE? We've never been told what it actually is" (Pupil J/10).

Pupils appreciated the opportunity to be able to voice their opinions freely during lessons. They described the format of lessons: “We sit, like, in a circle and talk about things” (Pupil P/9). “Our teacher lets everybody speak so it’s like everybody’s voice is heard and their opinions” (Pupil U/9B). These sentiments were echoed by pupils in year 10 who said “We don’t have horrible citizenship teachers! They let you put your point through” (Pupil H/10).

Pupils explained that less confident peers were able to speak in citizenship because they were actively encouraged to discuss and debate issues. In one interview with year 10 pupils, one girl explained that her co-interviewee had completely changed since working in their citizenship group in the past year. She described her as “having grown up so much” (Pupil F/10). In school G, the two female year 11 pupils said that the response from their peers had been similar: “Everyone’s loads more confident in our group now and they just put up their hands and speak” (Pupil G/11).

Where discrete lessons were offered, pupils all said that there was a code for behaviour, particularly stressing the confidentiality of discussions. The following quotation is typical:

- 2 Yeah, we’ve got three rules in citizenship which we have to follow and as long as we follow them three rules we can just say as much as we want.
- 1 One includes that nothing that we say goes outside of the room and no put downs
- 2 Yeah and no personal comments...
- 1 And also, no speaking out; that’s a strong one (Pupils U/9C).

The interview data highlights two aspects of citizenship which the pupils appreciate: subject matter which they consider relevant to their interests and the opportunity to discuss issues or ideas in a way that is not usually allowed. Pupils in year 10 said that compared to other subjects, for example science or maths, this lesson was “more relaxed, not so stressful” and they preferred the largely oral approach: “It’s better to learn like that” (Pupils H/10). Not all pupils felt this way. There were two interviews in which year 10 pupils said that they did not like having to join in with group discussions because it was boring or because they found the lesson content too difficult to understand and this meant that they felt afraid of contributing.

It is perhaps unsurprising to find that pupils like the more relaxed style of delivery for citizenship and, as mentioned by pupils in all year groups, the teacher makes the difference. The teachers who deliver citizenship seemed to be popular with the pupils.

6.2.4. Lesson content

Pupils were asked to describe a typical citizenship lesson. Pupils in year 9 were very poor at answering this question in any detail. They were able to say what topics were covered, for example that they had ‘done’ drugs education and talked about the issues relating to this, but they had to be coaxed to provide any further details. It is perhaps a difficult task to ask pupils to perform as they are so used to being in their lessons that it might seem odd to have to describe the situation in any detail. In three schools the pupils could not recall the detail of lessons because they had not been to any in the preceding term; this is the result of these three schools having to offer a split timetable where pupils take certain subjects for one term and then change to another subject the next. The majority of pupils, when pressed, described lessons that included similar themes of content and delivery: group work; circle time; debates; and visitors with specialist knowledge including the police, magistrates and others described in a variety of ways, e.g. “The Condom Lady!” Kerr *et al* (2003) found that visitors are commonly used in schools to support the teaching of citizenship topics, particularly law and media, where the police, magistrates and journalists led sessions.

Pupils in year 10 were better at describing their lessons and described how, in cross-curricular teaching, the goals and outcomes were written up on the board at the start of the lesson so that they were clear about which aspects of the lesson were part of the citizenship curriculum. Some teachers wrote a large “C” on the blackboard to denote that the lesson contained citizenship content. Lesson content varied from learning about different religions (complete with visits from representatives of religious denominations), voluntary groups (such as Samaritans or homeless charities) or learning about children’s rights (in a local and global context). Pupils in year 11 were similarly adept at describing the delivery and content of lessons and were keen to stress their support for the subject. Pupils in school G found that the status of citizenship had improved dramatically in the previous

year; their peers were now switching to take citizenship as an option: “Most people think it would be quite a boring lesson but then they hear about it. One of our mates is now joining our class which is good” (Pupil G/11). Pupils in year 11 tended to be more focused on their achievements in citizenship and described lessons which were more didactic and had more emphasis placed upon completing coursework or practising tests.

Other pupils described active projects they were participating in as a part of their citizenship lessons. For example, in school 6 the year 10 pupils were working with year 7 pupils to help them with skills development in language lessons. Year 11 pupils also mentioned the active side of the subject and were keen to explain why this was popular with them; two pupils in school G said that they were building a citizenship website and working with a local organisation. They found this experience inspiring:

- 2 It’s mix of doing, like, written work and doing active citizenship which is good.
- 1 We learn loads more when we are not in the classroom. We do active citizenship and we get to go and do different things instead of reading out of a book (Pupils G/11).

Year 9 pupils felt that their contemporaries were usually enthusiastic about citizenship lessons; however they did concede that sometimes the content of the lessons could be boring or irrelevant to them. For example, in one school the pupils were studying globalisation and one interviewee felt quite strongly that it was not relevant to them and therefore of no use:

When we learn about globalisation, we already know that McDonalds is all over the world, but we just didn’t know what the name was and that’s it really (Pupil Q/9B).

In contrast, pupils in year 10 felt that there were things taught in citizenship that they could not learn in any other lessons and they should not leave school without knowing this information, particularly what they had learnt about their human rights and legal information that was of relevance to them:

It’s quite useful because it’s, like, gradually building up your knowledge about when you’re going into work and real life situations (Pupil K/10).

I think that some aspects of citizenship are important, like learning about the law and where you stand (Pupil J/11).

Understanding politics and learning about their rights was very important to pupils. They believed that knowing certain information would help them to be better citizens:

- 1 In Year 8 we had to do politics and learn about different parties and that was quite good because I didn't know anything about that really before and when I'm older we'll need to know when we have to vote.
- 2 Yes, I think that was really good because now I know who to vote for and things like that and what's what (Pupils Q/9).

I do think that you get quite a wide variety of, like, stuff that you wouldn't learn, like, your rights and stuff and, like, your laws. I think [it] is quite important because I think nowadays everything that goes wrong is blamed on kids our age! (Pupil H/11).

Pupils in year 10 said that knowing their legal rights was perhaps the most important thing they would learn because they might need to apply this information later in life. Two year 10 boys in one school conducted a bravado-fuelled conversation about how they might need legal help should they commit a crime. They egged each other on and hinted that "getting in trouble with the law" might be something that they would experience, so citizenship was a useful subject to learn: "If you were to go to court, you would know what you were able to have done and do." Whereas, English was perceived as less useful: "well, Shakespeare isn't a major part of life is it really?" (Pupil H/10).

Some pupils also explained that they were learning about issues such as tolerance and multiculturalism and this was helpful to them and their communities. However, other pupils were less complimentary about content of the lessons and felt that citizenship was not really perceived as a lesson with any value. One pair of year 9 pupils explained that repetition of content made citizenship seem very dull to them: "it is quite interesting the first time but when you do it over and over again it gets quite boring so you tend not to listen and then classes get disrupted" (Pupil J/10). This complaint was echoed by pupils in years 10 and 11 too. One pupil in year 11 claimed that the past term's focus had been on political knowledge and she explained that it had been difficult because some of her class "were struggling with learning politics because it bores them so much" (Pupil F/11).

To most pupils, citizenship is obviously of value, but some would like to have more to say about what goes into the content of lessons. Two year 10 pupils said that citizenship was central to their education because it was learning for life, but they would like to know more about how to actually deal with current issues – they used the poor behaviour of other young people as an example. The delivery of citizenship is obviously key to its success in schools and it seems that what pupils notice is how high (or low) the subject’s status is from where it sits in the school timetable together with how it is delivered.

6.3. Talking about assessment of citizenship

The following section presents the results of discussions with pupils about their experiences and understanding of the assessments which are used in their citizenship lessons. As the delivery of the subject is varied, so too is the pupil experience of assessment.

Pupils liked to receive a grade or mark for their work and were not happy when work was returned with only formative comments on it. When I discussed grading with year 9 pupils it became clear that some did not fully understand what the results of assessments meant, particularly those given on annual reports:

We just get our report sheets at the end of the term and that’s got a target grade and to be fair, like, I don’t entirely understand what they base that on. Because every subject bases it on the test, I know, like, maths, they are doing it on the test that we’ve just done. But I don’t know what they base it on in citizenship at all. So that’s why I would like to know, like, maybe, like, the mark sheet or how they rate that in citizenship (Pupil Q/9B).

Pupils understood that grading citizenship was not an easy task. They conceded that tests of knowledge and understanding were straightforward to mark and assess, but the longer written discussions for coursework (or similar) were more subjective and therefore hard to assess:

M Do you think it can be tested in the same way as other subjects?
1 I don’t think it can because citizenship is how you act in school and out of school so they can’t really judge you once you’re out of school. Obviously, you can do tests like we said before but it’s sort of difficult to see what you are doing out of school.

- 2 And, because you can't really get all your feelings onto paper or anything (Pupils C/10).

In lots of stuff, like English, you know what you have to do, but for our projects where you show strengths in different areas it's not so easy just to grade someone on it (Pupil G/11).

The following comment is indicative of three different year 11 pupils who were concerned with assessment of participation and other, less-tangible skills:

Yeah, because a lot of the work, you can't grade it. There's not much. I mean, like, the syllabus in lots of stuff, like, in English and stuff, you know what you have to do; but for our projects you can show, like, strengths in different areas so it's not really that easy just to grade someone in it (Pupil F/11).

One pupil felt that testing was not an issue and that it was not appropriate for citizenship due to the subject content:

I think that it's not important that you actually have a test for it because each person is going to be different in what they learn and their lifestyle. I don't think that it matters that much that we have tests on it (Pupil J/10).

Pupils in year 11 were more likely to want a test of their learning and as this (male) pupil explained, their progress was dependent upon assessments:

You can't go on through the lessons learning about the wrong things and if the teacher didn't say anything at the end, like the right answers then we'd think that we'd got that right. And you can't really go on things like that, really can you? (Pupil E/11).

Two other pupils explained that their experience of creating something different for an assessment was a more enriching experience:

- 2 I think it was the whole realism aspect of it [creating a response to work on Homelessness]; it wasn't writing because at the end of it, we had to do, was it a non-fiction article?
- 1 It was a leaflet
- 2 Yeah, it was a leaflet to do with it, so it wasn't creating something. It was dealing with real life issues so that just made it just more interesting to learn (Pupils K/10).

6.3.1. Pupils' understanding of assessments

Year 9 pupils explained that teachers usually made assessments clear and understandable. Pupils are extremely knowledgeable about assessment and what is important in terms of their academic progress and, perhaps crucially for them, what is less important. As the following quotation illustrates, they have an informed knowledge of the assessment process and what their teachers' expectations are:

Usually we don't do essays, we do some assessments because the school *has* to do assessments but generally we just sort of talk about what we have learnt and then the teacher listens to see what we've learnt. He will just check that we've learnt what we are meant to have learnt (Pupil M/9B).

Three pairs of year 9 pupils (in different schools) showed me examples of the work they had completed as part of their assessments of citizenship. These included: Posters; Information leaflets; Worksheets; Written arguments; and Short answer tests.

Year 9 pupils in school R particularly liked writing short pieces in which they debated an issue (animal rights). They explained that doing this helped them develop their debating skills and encouraged them to consider the views of others and discuss these in their written work. Pupils in school B explained that they had created posters and leaflets as part of a group project to promote understanding about key issues which affect people's lives in other countries (poverty and national debt). They had focused their work on poverty and the term's work culminated in their doing a group presentation, complete with PowerPoint slides, to show the rest of the class. They were peer-assessed and the teacher also provided feedback. Pupils were generally positive about the experience, but claimed that assessing peers fairly was difficult:

- 2 You mark each other. You get given someone else's work and, like...
- 1 You tell them what's wrong with it
- 2 It can be a bit awkward because you don't want to sound really rude by pointing something out and making them feel dumb
- 1 If I want to say something, I'll put it in nicest possible way (laughs) or just say that I think they've done something wrong here... (Pupils, 2/10).

Year 10 pupils in school F presented samples of their coursework and assessments undertaken during the previous year. They had been engaged in longer-term projects supporting the teaching of

Year 7 pupils in French classes in their school. These pupils had assessed their own progress through the use of written diaries and records of the lessons they had planned; these were reviewed with the teacher on a regular basis, but it remained the responsibility of the pupils to keep the portfolios up to date. They were all (without exception) keen to do this because of their conviction about the importance of what they were gaining from their experiences in citizenship:

- 2 I think now that we are half way through the year on it and people have begun to realise that respect goes both ways and, well I think it's worthwhile doing this
- M Do you have to do that [compile the portfolio] and then she has a look at it?
- 2 Yes, everything we do, we do ourselves (Pupils F/10).

A range of assessment methods were discussed with pupils in years 10 and 11 including: End-of-topic tests; Multiple choice tests; Written examination; Written coursework; Group and individual presentations; and Debates and discussions.

Pupils talked knowledgeably about assessment and described a range of summative and formative techniques; whilst some of these are the same as those mentioned by year 9 pupils, it was noticeable that written tests, short examinations and coursework were mentioned more often by the older pupils. This change in emphasis from more formative assessments to summative approaches was more evident in the schools where pupils were either compelled to study citizenship as a GCSE, or where they had chosen to study for the qualification.

Teachers employed a range of ways to administer assessments and it was common to find pupils practised at self- and/or peer-assessment. Summative work tended to be marked by teachers and in some schools the pupils received a grade or numerical mark; pupils in all year groups sometimes described these as 'levels' because they corresponded with the levels required for GCSE coursework. The use of levels is a contentious issue because there are technically no levels in citizenship, just three possible 'grades' for a pupil's work which are based upon a single target (see Appendix B). Pupils are supposed to be told whether they are: 'Working Towards', 'Working At' or 'Working Beyond' the descriptor. However, as the interviews found, pupils are not always clear

about this system of grading, but they like it because it is different from the other methods that are employed:

- 1 It's a weird one to grade though, isn't it? Like, it's different to grade
M Okay, so you don't think you've ever had an assessment?
2 I don't think we did because our teachers just kept swapping and they didn't
 know what we were doing or what stage we were at (Pupils E/10).

Pupils often described how they worked in groups and were assessed together. This way of managing assessments could be problematical as pupils admitted that the distribution of tasks between members of a group was not always fair and they were sometimes happy to let one person do most of the work:

One person ends up doing all the work and then when that one person has brought it in, then they [peers] are thankful. It's not really fair (Pupil Q/9A).

Pupil Q/9A explained that in the course of completing one task, the whole group received one mark and this caused arguments between group members due to the different levels of participation from the pupils. The teacher had made it clear that she knew they had all contributed in different ways by giving each of them a written comment about their contribution. She then asked them to discuss these within their groups. Other pupils said that they had similar experiences and they expressed concern about the behaviour of members of their groups; if they were in "friendship groups" then it might work, but "it depends how your classmates would do it and not be stupid, you know what I mean?" (Pupils E/10).

Group assessment is a difficult task for pupils to undertake but when used it forces pupils to consider their own input and that of others (Black, 1998). The model used in school B was discussed at length with the year 10 pupils. They regularly perform group tasks which are peer assessed and given an overall mark. The teacher then gives individual marks within the groups and these are discussed amongst group members. Pupils admitted that they could be unfair in their grading of others but this was balanced by the decision of the teacher; all agreed that her decision was final.

6.3.2. Assessment free?

Year 11 pupils discussed the idea of no assessment and in school F where there was a strong programme for citizenship, but no qualification at the end of the course of study, pupils argued that whilst no qualification meant less pressure, they would like one “because I think it would be nice because it’s recognition if you are doing well” (Pupil F/11). Pupils in school J said similar things and felt that the minimal approach to marking of their work meant they did not really know how well they were doing in citizenship. The responses to this section of the interviews were largely determined by the way in which citizenship was assessed and how involved the pupils were in that process. Where marking was largely summative and the system of grading unclear (or not there at all), then the more negative the perception from pupils. In school N where there was no citizenship provision in years 10 and 11, pupils explained that, in general, their motivation to study subjects was underpinned by assessment:

- 2 I think it helps, going back to thinking about the doss lesson; it helps if you have an assessment. It tells you how you are doing and then you can really take it quite seriously
- 1 If you get good marks then it encourages you, but, if you are not assessed, there is, like, no drive to the lesson
- 2 There’s nothing to achieve from it (Pupils N/10).

However, there are also pupils who misunderstand the context and meaning of assessments. For example, in School M one pupil claimed that she had never been assessed. Her friend reminded her that they had and she considered this and commented that: “It was not like a test, so I didn’t think it was an assessment” (Pupil, M9) meaning that because it was not a written paper-based test, then she did not consider it to be an assessment. Her perception of assessments was of something altogether more formalised.

6.3.3. Self- and Peer-assessment

Most pupils had experience of self and/or peer assessment and discussed how they marked and graded work. When questioned about the ability to self- or peer-assess, the responses of pupils differed according to their gender. Pupils were questioned about their experiences of self

assessment by asking questions like “How do you find assessing yourself; can you tell me what it is like?” When answering this question, girls were more likely to say that they would give themselves a lower mark because they did not want to be seen to be showing off. However, when boys were asked they were more likely to say that they graded themselves fairly. This (male) pupil explained:

I was told that it's an important skill being able to assess yourself and you know just, like, to be able to say “I don't like that” and to be honest with yourself so that you can improve. I think that's an important skill (Pupil K/9B).

Girls seemed to be more concerned with (a) how they would be perceived (by peers) for the marks they gave themselves and (b) not wishing to upset peers by grading their work poorly. The following quotation is from an interview with two girls who described how they had been self- and peer-assessing a group project in citizenship:

You try not to be too modest, but you try not to be big-headed. So you feel, like, I've done this but I don't want to put myself up because you don't want people to think you're arrogant, so you have to put yourself down. It's a bit confusing (Pupil B/9B).

The two pupils described how they spent time in class reviewing each other's work and that they were reluctant to say anything negative:

- 2 There's a really horrible question on there! 'Is there someone in your group the Weakest Link?' I refused to answer it because I didn't agree with it.
- 1 It's hard, to say who's the weakest in the group because you don't want to let yourself down, or you might not want to let your friends down. (Pupils B/9B).

Pupils explained that their teachers usually picked them up on poor self assessment and asked them to review their decisions. It seems that female pupils in particular need this reassurance from teachers in order to award themselves an appropriate grade. Two year 11 pupils (female) said that their teacher always challenged their grades in self-assessment: “She says things like ‘No! You are better than that, do it again!’ (Pupil F/11).

6.3.4. Recording achievements

Teachers have to provide a written report of pupils' progress in citizenship at the end of key stage 3, but apart from that, there is no other requirement. Pupils mentioned a range of ways in which their work was both presented and stored as a record of their achievements in citizenship. After assessment, pupils said that their work was usually collected in folders or a portfolio of some kind. In one school pupils described how they regularly sat topic tests (usually multiple choice format or a worksheet) and they marked these themselves and then handed them in so that the teacher could file them in a folder.

Sometimes pupils did not seem to think that they had ever been tested properly and that this was symptomatic of the general feeling about citizenship. It was not as important as the core subjects:

- M Can you remember how or if you had any exams or tests or anything like that?
- 2 I'm not sure, I don't think so
- 1 Not exams, as in you don't, not, like, exams as you go into the hall and you get to sit for an hour but I think we might have had, like, little assessments in the class but, like, maybe the teacher would go "Your homework is to revise for a little assessment" But we didn't have nothing, like, English, maths or science...
- 2 Yes no proper exam or anything
- 1 I don't think that the marks went in to your report anything because I think they just weren't considered really, really big (Pupils N/9).

In school E, the pupils said that they had completed some written work or worksheets in lessons but they were not compelled to keep that work after the lesson, so usually they threw it away: "You don't do any work really, it's just listening. You do like a little bit of writing, but they say you can get rid of it if you want to, so you throw it in the bin" (Pupil E/10). This was an unusual instance and, putting the bravado of these pupils aside, the teacher at that school did say that work was not assessed for formal reporting because they were still developing a whole-school approach to assessment for citizenship.

6.3.5. Pupils' ideas for assessing citizenship

Pupils who were not given grades usually said that they would like to have them. They felt that they could not measure their success or plan ways to improve their work without a grade or mark. Pupils who has experience of the 'Working Towards', 'At' or 'Beyond' grading system complained that these 'grades' were of little value and did not enable them to see the specific elements of failure or achievement in their work. Just one school (U) where pupils discussed their citizenship achievements used the 'official' descriptors on a continuous basis. Two schools had experimented with using them, but did not find them helpful. Even when schools had provided a system of levels similar to those used in the other NC subjects pupils were not always confident about how to use the information given to them:

You get one [grade] in every subject but it is not necessarily reflected on properly because we have it but it says we should be achieving a level 6. [It] doesn't necessarily tell you in enough detail how to improve your next piece of work, because that's just for that piece of work (Pupil B/9B).

Multiple choice questions and worksheets were unpopular as pupils felt that they could easily be guessed and they were not a true test of understanding. It was surprising to hear year 9 pupils say the following:

- 2 It might be better if they, like, ask for your opinions and stuff because instead of just, like, it shows that you've actually got to think about it because if you just, like, tick boxes and stuff ... it doesn't really show that you are really thinking about it.
- 1 They could have, like, something, even if they've got multiple choice, underneath that some lines for a reason why you chose it (Pupils N/9).

Pupils also disliked written tests because as some of them explained, this method of assessment did not suit them personally, "I find tests hard because I can't read as quickly. In class I do the work fine and I get the answers mainly right, especially in maths, but in a test you are under pressure" (Pupils B/9). Other pupils felt that written tests were not necessarily the most appropriate mode for citizenship because the subject was complex and involved a great deal of personal opinion and discussion:

I think that citizenship is somebody's own point of view not a set thing; citizenship is this, this and this and if you don't do this, then you are wrong... I don't think that's right (Pupil M/9B).

Two pupils in school D spent some time discussing the ways in which citizenship might be better assessed and they came up with several, useful suggestions. The quotation is lengthy, but their discussion was insightful and is worth considering in full:

- B It's too opinionated and if it was to be tested it would sort of just be remembering facts and laws and stuff which isn't what I think citizenship's about; it's more about understanding it and not just knowing it. I think it should be like an oral exam, not a written exam because then it will show what people understand and it won't be noting down the facts and stuff and people just trying to pass and stuff, it will be...
- G I don't think they would enjoy it as much in ours if you were there to know all these facts; in the end it's your opinion which counts and not what you know really.
- B If it was oral, it would be quite hard to mark, I think
- G I don't think it's something that you can mark, I think it's just something like that you can just tell that this person's on the right track and this person's on the wrong track and you can kind of tell what they are thinking (Pupils D/10).

The pupils suggested different modes of assessment that lend themselves to the fact that, as they rightly point out, citizenship needs to be a participatory subject, one which is not only discussed by those engaged in learning about it, but is applied in practical contexts such as volunteering work.

6.4. The value of citizenship

Pupils held a range of views regarding the value of citizenship and they tended to compare the subject's value with that of other subjects; they also discussed qualifications, the attitudes of their parents and the use that the subject might be to them when they leave school.

The attitude of pupils towards the qualifications in citizenship were mixed and appeared to be reliant upon whether or not schools offered the subject to GCSE level. In the current assessment-heavy education culture, it seems that pupils do have to have some kind of test or qualification to help them accept that a subject has weight or value. In the next section, the use of GCSE specifications is discussed to see whether it is possible to uncover further information regarding pupils' attitudes and reasons for choosing a qualification.

6.4.1. GCSE Citizenship (short course)

Pupils tended to be either very keen on the idea of taking a GCSE, or they were against it because they did not feel it to be a useful qualification.

In school S, the year 9 pupils were supportive of a compulsory GCSE because they believed it to be, amongst other things, “good on your school record” (Pupil S/9B) and because it gave them particular competencies such as life skills, debating experience and knowledge of issues pertinent to them. Other pupils added that “it would help with my future career (in law)” (Pupil S/9C) or “it would help us once we leave school to know more about the environment and that” (Pupil S/9A).

Pupils in year 10 said that studying for the GCSE would provide a useful qualification which could be combined with another short course (usually Religious Education) to make an extra, *whole* GCSE. The feeling seemed to be that if they had to study the subject, they should receive some formal recognition of this. One pupil explained that there were important aspects of citizenship that would be reflected in a qualification:

I think it's one of the subjects that prepares you for life in general; it doesn't, like, cover just any subject. And it would be good to know that if, like, you'd got a high mark in that then, you'd be quite, like, well-prepared for the future (Pupil B/10B).

Pupils in school Q felt that the compulsory nature of the GCSE in their school was an imposition. As this pupil explained, she did not like the subject and felt that it had a negative impact upon her learning:

If it wasn't compulsory, I wouldn't have chosen it. If I enjoy the subject I'll put my effort into the subject. Does that make sense? I know that I don't put my full effort into citizenship (Pupil Q/9B).

These views were also shared by year 11 pupils in school G who felt that the compulsory citizenship curriculum in their school put some pupils off the subject completely, hastening to add that this was not her view, but something that peers had said to her.

Another pupil in the same school [Q] said that she did not want to study for the GCSE because the timetabling of lessons meant there was less time for revision and she did not feel confident about her knowledge of the subject. She felt that other GCSE subjects had more time allocated to them and that one lesson a week was not enough for citizenship because she (and her peers) found that “after about a week you have forgotten what you are learning” (Pupil Q/9A). Other reasons that pupils gave for not wishing to take a GCSE included preference for “more academic subjects such as science or maths” (Pupil R/9) or because other subjects in their options lists were deemed “more important” (Pupil R/9).

Interviewees in year 10 held even stronger views regarding the validity of a GCSE in citizenship:

- 2 I don't think that it would be as respected as something really important
- M Such as?
- 2 Like, if you had it people would be “Yeah that's good”, but if you was [sic] clever it wouldn't be the same as that...
- 1 Yeah, it wouldn't be like you had worked for it, because it's your own opinion (Pupils P/10).

Pupils in school H also agreed with these sorts of comments, although their criticism of the GCSE was levelled at their teacher whom they claimed had given them a text book and told them to “make sure you know what's in there” (Pupil H/11). Pupils also criticised the GCSE for being a short course. Some pupils were not keen on having to study for the qualification because they felt that it took time from the other, more important, full course GCSEs: “Who wants half a GCSE when you can have a whole one?” (Pupil D/11). Pupils in school H added that because the citizenship short course was offered *together* with the RE short course, pupils were angry about having to do both: “they have to take them because they need another GCSE for whatever reason but they are basically wasting an hour each week” (Pupil H/11).

In two schools citizenship was offered as an after-school option and pupils did not choose it because they did not wish to add to their workload. Pupils appeared to be very concerned about examination overload and this was often mentioned during interviews; pupils explained that they

made careful choices in their options because “we don’t want to pile on more work” (Pupil B/9). This was most evident amongst the pupils in years 10 and 11 who complained that their schedules were already full: they were under stress with all the coursework and current workloads for GCSE:

I’ve just got too full a schedule at the moment; I’m going to take the four subjects, plus a science and four choices, so that still gives you a lot (Pupil G/10).

I don’t think it will be accepted; people will be like “Oh man, we have to do enough already!” (Pupil H/11).

However, some pupils in year 10 were more blasé about taking GCSEs and as one pupil said, “I don’t think it would harm us to do an extra one because it’s increasing our knowledge of everything” (Pupil D/10). The pupils in this school argued that citizenship was so important that the school should be compelled to find time for it in the timetable. Another pupil argued that citizenship is an easy option and that it was possible to “breeze” the GCSE and get “another qualification for your CV” (Pupils C/11).

In two schools pupils were unclear about whether or not their school did actually offer a GCSE in citizenship. These pupils in school Q knew that they studied the subject but were unsure about the GCSE:

- 1 I think we sort of have to do things like RE and citizenship...
- M So do you do a short course in RE and a short course in citizenship?
- 2 I think so; actually I don’t know (Pupil Q/9).

When further pressed, these pupils did realise that they were studying for the GCSE and became critical of the way that it was delivered.

6.4.2. Comparing citizenship with other subjects

Citizenship lessons in eleven of the schools also contained what are officially PSHE topics (for example, drugs, sex education). In nine of the schools, citizenship was linked with the Religious Education programmes of study. It is common for teachers to have to combine the teaching of citizenship with Religion, PSHE or similar subjects, such as work-related learning or careers

education. This might not seem to pose any problems, but it does mean that pupils are not always able to understand their education for citizenship as the following dialogue illustrates:

- 2 They don't think of it as a subject, they think of it as, like; well some people don't even call it citizenship, like, if you said to someone what citizenship is, they might say "Oh, what's that?"
- 1 So they just call it PSHCE. I mean, some people take it really seriously but others just get on with it, you know, and just use it as a way of not doing silent reading (Pupils M/09).

Pupils in year 10 were just as likely to confuse citizenship and PSHE as their younger peers. Where the two are combined in one lesson, pupils were unable to distinguish citizenship content from PSHE: "They are the same aren't they really? We get taught it all as PSHE, so I'm not really sure" (Pupil P/10). When pupils were questioned further about the differences between the two subjects, some were able to extract a few of the citizenship strands (rights, legal obligations) but others confessed that they were confused by the two and could only guess at what topics or issues might be a part of which curriculum. As this pupil admitted, their understanding of citizenship is lacking: "I wouldn't know much about it; if someone came up to me and said this is about citizenship I wouldn't know, I wouldn't know what to say really" (Pupil E/10).

Pupils in year 11 also discussed areas of the curriculum which overlapped and made it difficult for them to have a clear idea of what citizenship actually was. In common with their younger peers, most year 11 pupils mentioned PSHE or religious education when they talked about citizenship.

The following quotations are indicative of the ways in which pupils confuse subjects:

- 2 I get them confused. Citizenship is a bit less religious [than RE].
- 1 But sometimes you come across things that are the same.
- M Yes, what sort of things?
- 1 Well, the law is one isn't it?
- 2 What in RE? Yeah we are doing the law in Crime and Punishment in RE (Pupils G/11).
- M Do you know the difference between Citizenship and PSHE?
- 2 No, not really, no.
- M Does it ever get split up like that then?
- 1 No it's PSHE. We have three different stages like, one you do sex education...
- 2 Drugs, drug abuse and then you do citizenship as well (Pupils E/11).

6.4.3. Parental comments

The majority of pupils had not spoken to their parents about citizenship in great detail. It is perhaps not true that they are disinterested; rather they are likely to be more interested in other subjects because those subjects have a higher profile. A year 9 pupil explained that her participation in a mock trial had made her father take an interest in their citizenship classes and he had been very supportive of her taking an active part in the project. Pupils at school S added that their parents were interested in learning about human rights and in one case, when learning about Amnesty International, a pupil said that her parents had sat down with her at the computer and learnt about the organisation too.

Pupils explained that their parents did not always question them about citizenship because they were unsure of what it was. A pupil in one school explained that when her father asked her what citizenship was, she found it difficult to explain:

In, like, geography I could explain what topic we were doing at the moment and he would know what geography was. But, like, in citizenship I could only say, like, political and globalisation and how they think of it and the pros and cons. It's harder to explain the subject than other subjects, I think (Pupil Q/9B).

Pupils also said that they mentioned it rarely because it was not a timetabled subject and therefore they were rarely asked about it. Some parents, as might be expected, did not have a positive view of the subject as the following dialogue illustrates:

My dad doesn't really see the point in it; he says it's just about tree hugging! But I don't agree with that and I told him once and he just doesn't see the point in it because it's not as important as maths or English and stuff like that, so he says it's not worth doing (Pupil Q/9A).

Pupils who did talk to their parents about citizenship found them to be interested in the subject if only to find out what it was that happened in classes. One pupil believed that her mother was relieved that so many personal topics were included in citizenship lessons. She claimed that learning about these issues in school "lets them off telling you about it" (Pupil B/11). Other questions raised by pupils' parents usually related to what the initials for PSHE (and related

lessons) actually meant; as discussed earlier, these subjects are often combined resulting in unwieldy names which parents are expected to decipher.

6.4.4. Future study and employment

When it came to employment, sometimes pupils did not believe that a qualification in citizenship would necessarily be of value *or* of interest:

- B That would give you an advantage over someone else, but I don't know if it helps massively. If you get a job in IT, it doesn't really help you to know about drugs; it just doesn't really fit in, but in some things it would
- G I think it might be, but not as a qualification. But if you are aware of certain things then it would be helpful, but not a major important thing (Pupils H/10).

Pupils in the same school but in year 11 felt the same way. They argued that a "C in Citizenship does not really mean anything" (Pupil H/11) and it is not the same as a C in other curriculum subjects. They did not believe that employers or universities would be impressed with a citizenship qualification.

In contrast, other pupils felt that a citizenship qualification would be of use because an employer might view it in a positive way, "...because they might say it's like working with other people or [knowing] about others" (Pupil C/11). A common theme amongst pupils who felt citizenship would be a useful qualification was a demonstration of 'people skills' and the ability to communicate effectively. Year 10 pupils in school P said that "it [a citizenship qualification] would make you look fair" and it teaches you about international issues which affect everyone. Pupils in school D felt that qualifications in citizenship were not just important for the individual: they were critical for determining the subject's status:

- B It should be taught more often and I think we should do exams in it and get a qualification because then people might take it seriously
- G If we do exams then people might, well people see it just as an extra, whereas it's really a main subject (Pupils D/10).

Pupils thought that a qualification in citizenship might be useful for certain jobs but as this pupil stated, they were unsure about citizenship being viewed in this way:

I do think that it would help, like, employers to think “Oh well they are clearly good at working with people and stuff because they’ve got this”, but I don’t really think that being a good citizen is about having GCSEs (Pupil M/9B).

Pupils across the year groups were asked what types of employment a qualification in citizenship might be useful for. The results included:

The legal profession: magistrate, lawyer, barrister, solicitor.

Public sector: social workers, police officers, teachers.

Voluntary sector: volunteers, charity staff, campaigners.

Pupils also believed that a GCSE would enable them to learn about specific issues that would be helpful to them and their families:

It could, like, help me in the future or something; if anything goes wrong with me or my family I can, like, help them (Pupil G/9).

They discussed how the content of the citizenship curriculum might be useful for certain careers, but that their focus still remained upon the ‘big three’ subjects of English, maths and science because it was those subjects which employers sought. Pupils often argued with each other during the interviews because they wanted to maintain that citizenship was important but struggled with the tension between a subject that is definitely needed to get a job (English) and one that might make a candidate seem more interesting (citizenship). As one male pupil said: “It’s [citizenship] not going to help me. I want to be a plumber, I was thinking of, like, doing an apprenticeship in plumbing” Pupil, E/11).

Pupils in year 9 did not have much to say about the use of qualifications in citizenship, but this is unsurprising as they were only at the stage of choosing options for their GCSEs. However, pupils

in year 10 were more focused on the use of their qualifications and when asked about a citizenship qualification, these two pupils were convinced of its value:

When universities look at your CV and look at what A Levels you did, they see the usual ones and then they look for something else. It's the same with jobs because if you've got an A level in citizenship, it's sort of the ultimate card in PR. It says "I understand people and I understand how to deal with them (Pupil M/10).

Pupils in school F had been learning about applying to university and their citizenship teacher had encouraged them to consider adding a qualification in citizenship to their choice of subjects so that they would have additional and practical work to discuss in interviews; they believed that the subject would make their academic profile more interesting to universities.

6.5. Summary of the chapter

Pupils' understanding of citizenship is varied and this seems to relate to their exposure to the subject. Where it is delivered as a discrete subject, they are able to discuss it at length, but when citizenship is delivered in tutor time or as a cross-curricular subject their answers reveal confusion about the purpose of citizenship. They were critical of the lack of specialised teachers and some asked question about training. As might be expected, pupils are very aware of assessment and this makes them critical of subjects or delivery structure which might not afford them the opportunity to gain a qualification. They like trying different types of assessment, but there was evidence to show that girls were less confident than boys in judging their own achievements as well as those of their peers. Other pupils felt that assessments were not adventurous enough and did not always reflect the effort and content of projects they had undertaken for citizenship.

Pupils are very keen on certain aspects of citizenship (particularly legal, rights-based issues), but many were concerned that citizenship is an interloper which (in year 11) denies them time that could be spent on revision for GCSE subjects. Both teachers and pupils are cautiously welcoming of the short course GCSE available for citizenship – some pupils would like the accreditation, but others are not keen on the half-measure qualification. This shortfall has done nothing to help the

status of citizenship and it seems that pupils will only begin to respect the subject if it can be viewed as comparable to other National Curriculum subjects. Pupils had lots of ideas about how citizenship qualifications might be of use and how the subject could translate outside of the school setting; although it was disappointing to find that some pupils did not consider it valuable unless it could be applied to some kind of vocation.

CHAPTER 7. RESULTS - INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS

The next two chapters comprise the findings from the interviews. The interviews were semi-structured and therefore I followed an interview schedule (Appendix D) which formed the basis of conversations, but which did not restrict the flow of dialogue with participants. The interviews generated a large amount of data which required six months of transcription and analysis. The same process of categorisation was used to analyse and conceptualise the findings for both the pupil and teacher interviews and it is the resulting categories which form the basis of these chapters.

7.1. Responses from teachers

Nineteen teachers from 18 schools took part in the interviews: six participants were male and 13 were female. Each interview was conducted with one teacher per school with the exception of school Q where two teachers asked to participate together. The schools were in three areas of England: the South East (Kent, Sussex and London); the South West (Cornwall and Devon); and the North (Lancashire and Yorkshire).

Participants were asked questions about their school type, their length of service, the subject(s) they teach and their roles in the school. These data are presented in tables: 7.1 and 7.2 below.

Table 7.1: Area and school-type (by school)

	Community	Comprehensive	High School	Count
South East	4	2	2	8
South West	6	0	0	6
North	3	1	0	4
Total	13	3	2	18

Table 7.1 above, shows the geographical location of the schools and the school types – the majority of respondents described their schools as ‘Community’ (n=13), three teachers described their school as ‘Comprehensive’ and two said it was a ‘High school’.

Table 7.2: Years teaching

Years Teaching	Count
1-5	5
6-10	1
11-15	1
16-20	3
21-25	2
26-30	5
31+	2
Total	19

The length of service of participants ranged from one year, including three Newly Qualified Teachers (NQT), and two long-serving teachers who had 33 and 38 years of experience respectively. The majority of participants had more than 16 years of teaching suggesting that the responsibility for the subject is usually given to a member of staff with substantial teaching experience.

Table 7.3: Subjects taught in addition to citizenship (by number and by subject)

Number of extra subjects taught	Count		Subject(s)	Count
+1	11		Physical Education, Religious Education, RRRRRRRRRR RRRRRRRRRR	4
+2	6		Art, Dance, Home Economics/Food Science, Science, Sociology	2
+3	2		Geography, Maths, Drama, History, Media, Chemistry, Biology, PSHE, English	1
Total	19			

As Table 7.3 (above) shows, more than half of the participants (n=11) taught one subject in addition to citizenship, almost one third (n=6) taught an additional two subjects and the remaining two teachers had to teach three other subjects as well as citizenship.

Participants taught a range of subjects besides citizenship; the most common combination was Physical Education or with Religious Education, but as Table 7.3 shows, the range of subjects taught by the interviewees is varied across the Arts, Humanities and Science disciplines. These findings are similar to those of Kerr *et al* (2003) and Warwick *et al* (2004) whose studies of citizenship teachers found that one of the most common co-taught subjects was Religious Education.

Teachers were asked about their employment and the roles that they performed in addition to teaching citizenship (See Table 7.4 below). The NQT respondents had teaching responsibilities, but no additional roles. Eight participants had one other role aside from their teaching and a further eight had at least two other roles in addition to their teaching load.

Table 7.4: Additional roles

Role	Count
Head of citizenship and PSHE	7
Subject co-ordinator	5
Citizenship teacher	4
Head of Year or Department	3
Assistant Head Teacher (or acting Head)	2
Total	19

Roles included subject management, subject co-ordinator, the head of a year group and/or department and, in the cases of two respondents, assistant Head Teacher in the school.

7.1.1. Conducting the interviews

Interviews were usually conducted in the participant's office or a classroom. All interviews were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder (with the exception of the one conducted with teacher B who did not wish to be recorded). I took additional notes during the interviews and recorded a short commentary immediately following each interview.

Only three interviews were conducted *without* an interruption of some kind. Interruptions usually constituted a pupil asking questions, or another teacher coming into the room. One interview had to be terminated early due to an immediate issue that the interviewee had to deal with (pupils fighting) and two were delayed due to difficulties in securing a room in which to conduct the interview. Whilst I asked to conduct the interviews in a private place, in three schools this was not possible as the interviewee shared their office with other members of staff and this was the only

place available in which to conduct the interview. In each case, the other members of staff present were informed that the interview was being recorded.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way using both closed and open questions about different aspects of the teaching and assessment of citizenship. Naturally, each interview was slightly different, but I ensured that all relevant topics were covered by using a schedule to guide the questioning of the teachers (See Appendix D). Participants seemed to enjoy the interviews and all spoke freely about their experiences.

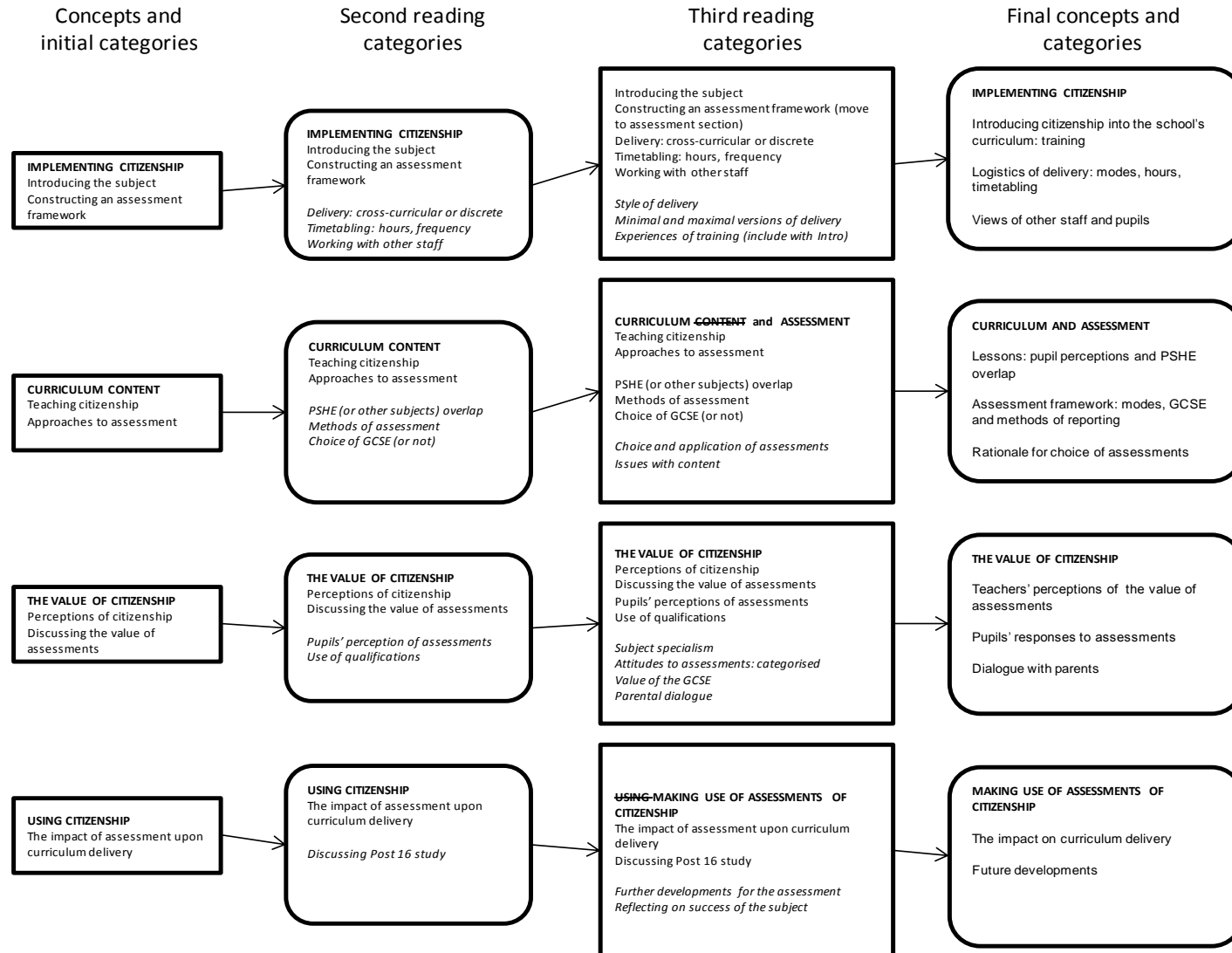
7.1.2. Transcribing and analysing the data

The data transcription and analysis of the interviews with teachers was conducted in the same way as the data from the interviews with pupils (see page 186-187). As the transcription was conducted, I identified four concepts which were central to the scrutiny of citizenship curricula in the schools:

1. Investigating the implementation of citizenship into the school's curriculum
2. Describing the content of the curriculum and assessment
3. Considering the value attributed to both the subject and the assessments
4. Implications for teaching, learning and assessment

Figure 7.5 below shows the process of conceptual development: Column 1: Concepts and initial categories; column 2: Second reading; column 3: Third reading; and column 4: Final categorisation for writing up. Quotations are followed by a code, e.g. Teacher A or Teacher F; the letter refers to the interviewee's school. In school Q, two teachers were interviewed therefore they are identified as Teachers QA and QB.

Figure 7.5: Development of interview themes (teachers)



Concepts and categories

As Figure 7.5 above shows, the data analysis resulted in 28 categories by the third reading. All of these categories are pertinent to answering the questions which are the foundation for this research, but it was possible to subsume categories under a smaller range of headings so that the final reporting of the results was presented in a more manageable format. The final concepts and categories are as follows:

Implementing citizenship

- Introducing citizenship into the school's curriculum: training
- Logistics of delivery: modes, hours, timetabling
- Views of other staff and pupils

Curriculum and Assessment

- Lessons: pupil perceptions, PSHE overlap
- Assessment framework: modes, GCSE and methods of reporting
- Rationale for choice of assessment modes

Considering the value of citizenship and its assessments

- Teachers' perceptions of the value of assessments
- Pupils' responses to assessments
- Dialogue with parents

Making use of assessments of citizenship

- Impact on the curriculum delivery
- Future developments

7.2 Implementing Citizenship

7.2.1. Introducing citizenship into the school's curriculum

Teachers who participated in the interviews gave different accounts of how citizenship was introduced to their school. For some, the system for teaching and assessment was already in place when they arrived:

The way in which it's delivered across the school in things like Focus Days, was already decided. The exam boards were already decided and since I became the lead teacher last year, I've obviously had more control over what happens in terms of the inevitable; writing Schemes of Work and designing assessment (Teacher QA).

Two of the NQTs, having the subject expertise, were expected to make a substantial contribution to the existing system. Teacher U explained that she arrived to find schemes of work in place for PSHE, but she was expected to create all of them for citizenship. Another teacher was given schemes to rewrite throughout the course of her first year:

We are all given, from time to time, a scheme of work to take away and re-do according to the syllabus and things - to make sure that it ticks all of the boxes (Teacher T).

Teachers with a longer service history seemed to find the introduction of the subject less onerous than expected, particularly those who already believed that they were teaching key elements of citizenship through PSHE (or similar subjects). Three interviewees said that they already had elements of citizenship education in place and had developed these from the former Cross-Curricular Themes (National Curriculum Council, 1990). The following quotation illustrates a fairly typical response from an experienced teacher, who was supportive of the introduction of citizenship:

- M And how did it go, actually bringing citizenship into the curriculum into the school? Was it a difficult task?
- T No, it wasn't at all. Because having the government giving it sanction made it much easier for teachers like myself because we were already doing it and because we'd already had it in the... what do you call them?
- M Cross-curricular themes?

T Yes, that's it and citizenship was one of them and so it was, fairly, for me, quite easy and much better because it was more powerful than what I was already doing (Teacher F).

Central to the successful implementation of the subject appeared to be having the support of the Senior Management Team (SMT); this has been found in other research both national and international (see, Torney-Purta *et al*, 1999; Kerr *et al*, 2004; Deakin Crick *et al*, 2004). One interviewee explained how the negative comments from colleagues had changed due to the support she had received from her managers:

When I started here, I had at least one member of staff turn around to me and suggest that I needed to take on second and third subjects because citizenship wouldn't be around in two years time. I think that there's been a massive shift in perceptions, certainly by SMT who have become so much more cooperative and willing to provide finances and get involved (Teacher QA).

However, other interviewees found the lack of understanding from their managers frustrating and this resulted in their having to work particularly hard to raise the profile of citizenship:

I think it [a citizenship-focus day] just gave the subject a bit of a boost because you are also battling against teachers and SMT who know very, very little about citizenship. So to have a whole day with citizenship in the title helps (Teacher U).

Interviewees complained that in the early days of introduction there was a lack of training and/or resources. This meant that the allocation of citizenship teaching could be haphazard and this sometimes resulted in a lack of focus for the subject because there might not be a dedicated teaching team:

So we don't have a dedicated team of staff here and we have a senior member of staff who doesn't even teach on the PSHCE who is responsible for PSHCE. Then you can't have that level of co-ordination as you would have maybe in other schools. I think what this school needs is an identified member of staff with time to actually do the citizenship and PSHE *and* co-ordinate it (Teacher N).

Alongside the issue of staff inexperience, two interviewees said that they knew pupils took the subject less seriously because they knew the staff were not necessarily competent or indeed

confident in their delivery. Teacher N felt that this was potentially a significant problem for the successful introduction of the subject.

Insufficient space in the timetable was a problem raised by nearly all those who were unable to offer citizenship as a discrete subject. The key issues seemed to be delivery of the curriculum together with other subjects, for example PSHE. The following quotations are just a small selection of those who raised timetabling concerns:

We haven't really got the curriculum time for that. I don't know how I could go to the maths department or the science department and say "Listen, we are going to take a period a fortnight off you for this thing called citizenship, but it ain't going to get an accreditation and it's not going to show in any league tables" (Teacher N).

Why not? Simply because there is no time in the timetable to accommodate the teaching of it. We couldn't fit it in anywhere and something else would have to be moved out in order to fit citizenship in somewhere (Teacher B).

It would mean taking a subject off the timetable. It's just timetabling. You would have to say to the Head of RS "Sorry, you've got to reduce your staff!" (Teacher D).

Some teachers circumvent the issue of minimal timetable space by negotiating whole days off timetable⁴⁰ which focus on certain aspects of the citizenship curriculum. This approach, as the following quotation suggests, is successful but not without its disadvantages:

So it's trying to get all this into the timetable. You know into a short amount of time really, so the days off timetable will help a bit. I'm not a great fan of it, I think it's quite interesting to do times off timetable, but I don't think it should be solely that way because I think that it's sort of done on that day and then forgotten (Teacher C).

The citizenship curriculum itself was viewed as problematic with one teacher (QA) describing it as a "woolly" structure and criticising the policy documentation which heralded the implementation of citizenship as "light touch" (QCA, 2001) as something which was unhelpful. It seems that teachers would prefer that the curriculum for citizenship had been more prescribed,

and three suggested that this would have helped with the introduction and embedding of the subject. As one put it:

It was hard work because all you got really from QCA, you got the sort of, you know, the modules and what you could teach, but the resources and everything you just had to go and find yourself and then do it in 50 minutes a week (Teacher S).

7.2.2. Logistics of delivery of the subject (modes, hours, timetabling)

Teachers were asked questions about the style of delivery of citizenship: was it a discrete lesson or taught in a cross-curricular way? The results are shown in Table 7.6 below.

Table 7.6: Delivery of citizenship lessons (by teacher)

Delivery	Count
Discrete	9
Cross-curricular	5
Both	4
Total	18

Half of the interviewees said that citizenship was delivered as a discrete lesson in their school. One of those who did this explained that they felt that it made a difference to the way the subject was perceived:

I think the fact that we have discrete lessons and that we have had discrete lessons for quite some time means that I think that we are in a stronger position in terms of that we have had the opportunity to sort of experiment with different ways of delivery for citizenship (Teacher QA).

However, other teachers (who offered it through tutor time or in a cross-curricular way) had different opinions. For example:

I felt that there was a great pressure that we should be teaching a discrete citizenship lesson in order that we fulfil the government requirements, the statutory requirements that were put in place. I would quite often go out to LEA conferences and training sessions and people would be aghast, saying “You don’t have a discrete lesson, my goodness how do you do it!” (Teacher M)

Interviewees were also asked how many hours, on average, citizenship was offered each week. Responses were varied due to the fact that two schools offered citizenship one term and not the

next; another school claimed not to offer any lessons at all and others worked on fortnightly timetables⁴¹. However, it was possible to create an overall picture of average time allocated to citizenship on a weekly or fortnightly basis and this is shown in Table 7.7 below. The results show that most schools offer just one hour a week of citizenship (some schools use a 45 minute lesson schedule, others 50 minutes and some one hour).

Table 7.7: Timetable hours for citizenship

Hours	Count
Up to 1 hour per week	12
Up to 1 hour per fortnight	4
Variable	1
None	1
Total	18

The issue of time appears significant for most of the interviewees and most did not seem to think that one lesson a week was enough, particularly when they were expected to cover aspects of PSHE or work-related learning within those lessons too. Teachers were able to articulate their frustration:

I've got rather a nice spread of skills and experience. People have got them in like I said, sex or drugs, or careers or citizenship and it would be nice to rotate those around the staff so that they could teach to their expertise, but I can't do that because of the timetabling restrictions (Teacher E).

We don't teach what we should do. We don't manage to teach the statutory curriculum; I have tried to make sure that the bits I've added, so that when they leave school they have been taught all of the main topics that will be in the curriculum. One thing we need is more time and I can't see that happening (Teacher U).

However, other teachers realised that teaching time was limited and were more positive about the fact that citizenship needed time to be accepted and embedded in the school timetable:

If I'd have pushed it; I would have been allowed to have it on the timetable. I thought for myself and the pupils I didn't want to put that much pressure particularly when the pupils, a lot of them, don't know about citizenship and what it is (Teacher P).

Where citizenship was taught in a cross-curricular way, teachers were asked how pupils would know when they were learning about it. One teacher conceded that it wasn't always clear and that pupils did not necessarily know because staff might not be sufficiently supportive of citizenship to bother letting them know which aspects of a lesson fulfilled parts of the citizenship curriculum. However, this was a singular example and most respondents had systems in place which seemed to work:

We use a system of labels for the whiteboards. At the beginning of the lesson, the teacher puts up the label for citizenship and then writes the aims and outcomes of the lesson below it. Pupils write these in their books for reference (Teacher B). The Humanities Department which has shouldered most of the citizenship curriculum would perhaps say in a particular focus or topic or unit that they are doing: "The citizenship element of this is..." (Teacher M).

If there's a citizenship aim up on the board, it should have a C by the side of it. And the teacher should really explain to the pupils that this is a citizenship aim without it sort of taking, being taken away from the main thrust of whatever their main objective of the lesson is. I think it is something that we need to work at continuously because it is done a lot cross-curricular. We do have some discrete lessons, but much of it is done cross-curricular (Teacher C).

7.2.3. Views of other staff and pupils

Whilst most interviewees were enthusiastic about the introduction of the subject, there were a range of problems with the implementation. Lack of support from other staff was mentioned by nearly all interviewees and a key factor seems to be a lack of understanding about the subject; for example, two NQT teachers explained that they felt as if they had to fight for their subject due to the ignorance of other staff:

... some teachers, it's quite a hard-going battle because they see it as quite a, they call it, like, a 'Blue Peter' kind of subject where you are just doing posters or you know, watching a video and it's not about that at all (Teacher P).

They [SMT] are very supportive of me as an individual and what I am trying to do down here, but they've never given me advice and I've never really turned to them for advice because they don't really know much about it (Teacher U).

More experienced teachers were also disappointed to find that attitudes of some staff were very negative about citizenship:

- M Do you think other staff understand what citizenship is?
T No, particularly the younger, newer teachers. They have a rather condescending attitude towards citizenship and I have had some say that they don't respect it as a subject because it had no formal accreditation.
M How does that make you feel?
T Well, sad and frustrated, because I feel it's a very important subject and I don't want to have to take on a GCSE simply to give the subject some kudos. It should be valued for its own sake (Teacher B).

Around the school I still think that it's seen, particularly by anyone with a kind of pastoral slant, as a very valued subject. It is always second fiddle to the maths, English, science, French; the main structure of the curriculum (Teacher E).

It appears that some teachers might harbour negative perceptions of citizenship because they do not feel confident about teaching it, or that they feel it has been imposed upon them. One teacher explained:

It's varied, you get staff who have been made to do it and absolutely hate it. There are no exercise books and no text books and you know, so some find it a bit... Some try it and like it and some think they really don't like it (Teacher R).

Another teacher suggested that choosing only those who *wanted* to teach it was imperative:

We only have people who *want* to teach it. I think it's very important from that point of view. I know in some schools it's tutor time and everyone does it whether they want to or not; or its "oh you've got a few spare lessons, go and do it". It's quite interesting actually this year because one of the people who is mainly on other subjects was very upset when she thought she was going to lose her citizenship input (Teacher G).

One interviewee found that negative perceptions of citizenship had softened as the subject had become a permanent fixture and, as the quotation below illustrates, when exam results showed a high level of achievement:

I do think it's not as valued. It is a core subject, but it kind of slides in right at the bottom there and, I think, because it's new, but because it's been so well developed in the school, then everybody just accepted that it's part of it. We do get really good exam results as well, so it was nearly 66% A-star to C last year so I mean you can't argue with that really (Teacher T).

However, whilst some teachers seemed frustrated by the attitudes of others, they were not necessarily content to allow colleagues to belittle the subject and as one interviewee explained, she was developing “a whole staff day on what citizenship is...to raise its value and importance” (Teacher P). Other interviewees, particularly the NQT subject specialists, seemed to accept that there would be some criticism of their subject and seem, at least for now, satisfied to make a sustained effort to educate their peers and effect change in perceptions from within. Nearly all the interviewees had experienced some negative comments or attitudes to citizenship and they usually accepted that this was due to lack of understanding and, in two cases, scepticism about the life expectancy of citizenship. However those taking responsibility for the subject are actively seeking ways of addressing negative perceptions and are attempting to find creative ways to build the reputation of citizenship.

Teachers were asked what they thought their pupils felt about citizenship and again, they felt that a range of issues affected pupil perception, including the teacher, understanding of the subject and the pupils’ general engagement with their school experience. The level of commitment and enthusiasm from their teacher will always affect how a pupil feels about the subject and citizenship is no exception as the following quotations demonstrate:

Staff who are committed to what they are doing, enjoy it and put time and effort into it, the kids love it. The staff who don’t like it, are reluctant to do, don’t put any time into preparing it; then the kids don’t like it! It’s as simple as that really (Teacher R).

I don’t think that the pupils necessarily know what they have learnt and I don’t think that they value the subject just because, primarily [they have] very different staff all the time, so they get quite confused (Teacher E).

Teachers were aware that pupils did not necessarily understand what citizenship was and were, in some cases, apt to confuse it with other subjects, but when the content of citizenship is explained they seem to become more positive about it:

I think they are getting more clear about it, but I wouldn't think that if you sat down and spoke to pupils whether they'd really know the difference whereas PSHE comes more from a value base. But, I don't know if they would know the difference to be honest, but I do try and sort of point it out to them (Teacher C).

I think they value what they are taught there and that's not directly citizenship, that's more PSHE but yeah, I think they do...I mean they don't see it as citizenship. I mean obviously you pull in some people and they will say "Oh, it's a waste of time." You know, on the whole they are positive and the two main people who teach it are really good and enthusiastic and have a good relationship with the kids; makes an awful lot of difference (Teacher G).

Training was discussed with all interviewees and most seemed happy with the provision currently available. The types of training ranged from one-off days with local authority subject specialists to longer term professional development training, such as that of one interviewee who had chosen to evaluate the teaching of citizenship for her Masters degree. One teacher believed that training was of limited use to citizenship teachers, claiming that:

I don't think that teachers need to have training in the subject of citizenship like they do in other subjects; I think that you can train through INSET days and the like to give yourself enough understanding of the subject. I'm dubious about the content of PGCE citizenship teaching...Is this really the best way to go about teaching it? (Teacher B).

Two respondents (both in Cornwall) found attending training a problem due to their geographical location. They explained that whilst there was money to pay for the course, to attend would mean taking time off and travelling some distance, and would necessitate arranging supply cover to which their budgets could not always stretch.

7.3. Curriculum and Assessment

7.3.1. Lessons: pupil perceptions and PSHE overlap

Teachers believe that their pupils like the format of the lessons; they enjoy the interactive nature and the opportunity to express their opinions or debate issues which they think are important:

We do 'Pupil Voice', where they tell us what they think of our teaching. It's anonymous and they always say that we don't let them do enough group activities

and that is very difficult to manage, but we've decided to bite the bullet and we've stuck some debating activities in at key stage 4 because they should really have developed some of the skills by then to do it (Teacher T).

However, as Teacher E explained, the more 'relaxed' nature of the subject means that some pupils tend to take it *less* seriously:

They haven't got specific books or text books that they follow. And because of the far less structured curriculum and also the nature of the activities that they are doing, because it's not written, largely, I think in their eyes that means it's of less importance which is bizarre. You know if they are watching a video or they are doing some role play or they are coming up with their own discussions or arguments for example, that, strangely, in their eyes is seen as less important (Teacher E).

One issue which was discussed with all of the interviewees was the way that citizenship is (or is not) distinct from PSHE. Many teachers admitted that their pupils would not know there was a difference between the subjects and that they did not make it clear to them:

We just don't make a point of telling them that "this is citizenship" or "this is PSHE" so they wouldn't know, I'm pretty sure that they wouldn't know. Perhaps they had a bit of a talk at the very beginning in September, but they wouldn't know. We just haven't made a point of differentiating that to them (Teacher U).

I think if you asked some pupils in this school, there will be some who wouldn't know what it is, because I think if you'd asked a few years ago, a lot of them knew and it is mentioned in assemblies, but because it's not a separate subject in its own right and even in its sort of title in the timetable now it's PSHE/C. You know, a lot of them wouldn't think of it, you know they'd just put it all in that, well it's something that we do with our tutor in a non-examined sort of different role to other subjects really so some would be not sure what it was (Teacher J).

Two respondents were concerned that they were confident of their ability to deliver citizenship, but less confident about having to deliver aspects of PSHE. They believed that presenting PSHE as a part of the citizenship curriculum simply confused pupils:

[In the past] I said there was a correlation with PSHE as well but that's what I'm worried about now because PSHE has been plonked on top of it [citizenship] and you know I do some of it, but I haven't had any training on that side at all, the drugs side, the sex education side. I wouldn't like to say that I'm teaching from strength or knowledge really; they know more than I do (Teacher H).

I have a problem with people thinking they are the same subject because I actually, and in a way, you can probably lump PSHE in with any subject and it would have overlap. So it's kind of this new subject called citizenship going "All right, where can we fit it in with the timetable? Oh, we'll put it in with PSHE!" which is fine but I think, for me personally, we need to make that distinction, not only to staff but to pupils as well (Teacher P).

One teacher (who often covered as a supply teacher for citizenship) admitted that *she* was confused about the subjects; she had found that schools often gave her lessons for citizenship that she thought were PSHE and vice versa:

They do have a complete scheme of stuff that they work through because if you go in and you are covering for citizenship or Social Ed and I'm not quite sure now if I'm talking about the same thing – PSHE, Social Education or citizenship – and I don't know if citizenship is something separate, but I think that the two are the same (Teacher K).

7.3.2. Assessment framework: modes, GCSE, and methods of reporting

As explained in Chapter 3, schools are now required to assess pupils at the end of key stage 3 and report their findings to parents. Interviewees described their methods of assessment and their framework for delivery. I asked them to explain why they had chosen particular methods; selection seems to be based upon pupils' engagement and enjoyment. For example, one teacher explained that she had tried regular short multiple-choice tests at the end of topics and pupils had not always enjoyed those as they viewed them as superficial and unrepresentative of the amount of effort that they had contributed to group tasks or other aspects of the learning process.

The interview data revealed that the fulfilment of the assessment requirements ranges from none (in School N) to a well-developed and regularly updated framework for assessment (Schools C, D, F, P, Q, S) with the remaining schools describing assessment practice that only fulfils some of the statutory requirements (see Chapter 3 for details of the assessment requirements).

Interviewees said that assessment was one of the most difficult parts of the curriculum delivery and they struggled with developing assessments which they felt were appropriate for the subject and for their pupils. A fundamental problem is collating assessment when citizenship is taught in a cross-curricular way:

I think the most challenging thing is giving the pupils levels and assessing it because it's taught in a cross-curricular way. I think the advantages of that are that it is a holistic way of teaching it but the disadvantages of that are that the pupils aren't necessarily going to be aware that they are learning it and unless you say "Right, now we are doing citizenship", but that's not natural in a lesson and also then how you then assess it and that has been a difficult one (Teacher M).

Teachers explained that pupils who were very able debaters and were keen participants in the classroom were often those who did not excel in summative methods of assessment such as examinations or tests:

I think the fundamental problem is how do you assess? If it was a knowledge-based subject then I think that it would be very different and we could assess it and we do have an assessment of how well pupils are doing, but to be honest the ones who excel in citizenship are the ones with the lowest amounts of knowledge (Teacher QA).

At the moment it's very, very subjective, you know, and I don't use text books. I mean you could use them and up until recently you hadn't had to give any levels or targets and I don't think you should really because sometimes in those lessons you've actually got people having a discussion and they are not shouting each other down (Teacher H).

What doesn't work is tests of knowledge because often it's irrelevant (Teacher G).

Teacher (G) added that in her school, it was the brightest pupils that she was worried about because they were usually reluctant to speak in a lesson and she could only find out whether they had understood a topic if they wrote down their opinions and ideas, whereas the teachers in school Q stated that pupils feel frustrated when they contribute to an activity and know that they will not receive any reward for their work:

I do spend quite a bit of time on the coursework explaining to them that they're assessed on their evaluation of their activities and talk to them a lot about how, but

quite a few of them think... “I’ve worked so hard on this project but I’m going to be assessed on my write up of it” and so if they do, if they want to be assessed at all, they want to be assessed on the effort that they’ve put into it (Teacher QA).

However, regardless of whether the task is a difficult one or not, all respondents except one were able to outline their frameworks for assessment and these followed a similar pattern: knowledge and understanding were assessed by summative tests or quizzes; participation and in-school activities were assessed through group/individual presentations; voluntary/external work was assessed through reports, presentations and portfolios or folders in which pupils reflect upon their achievements.

Interviewees often said that they were developing their assessments and did not present the current structure as a finite model; rather they saw it as a process of learning through experimentation:

We are trying to look at other ways of making it varied again so that they don’t actually realise that they are doing it, so we will keep that one in for Animal Rights for instance, because it’s something they would do in year 8 and they will be quite happy doing that one (Teacher S).

Knowledge and understanding we generally do by way of short kinds of quick quizzes and tests but the participation element is, from a traditional subject’s point of view, is the weakest area but it’s also constant and throughout because they do presentations (Teacher QA).

All assessments happen at the end of term. We use three methods here: self-assessment, peer-assessment and teacher-assessment. Because citizenship has no levels, we ask staff to decide an appropriate grade and advice for improvement on a case-by-case basis. It’s not easy because we are so used to being able to decide upon a level to indicate achievement (Teacher B).

When teachers introduce assessments into the classroom it seems that it is common for them to use formative self- and peer-assessment together with traditional summative approaches. The use

of the former modes of assessment was usually successful because teachers believe that pupils liked to have some say in their learning and they seemed to enjoy criticising their work:

They are reasonable at self assessment and I think it's definitely a worthwhile activity and they put down constructive things (Teacher U).

They are good at peer assessments, honest with one another without being hard. They find the self assessment more difficult. It's down to being rather shy about achievement. They usually mark themselves down – I guess that's because they don't want to look too brainy or come across as a creep (Teacher B).

Teachers believe that their pupils are generally capable of making a reliable appraisal of their own work, but they do note a gender difference in this mode of assessment. Interviews revealed that girls tended to be harder on themselves and boys were more likely to overstate their achievements:

They [girls] are not bad at self assessment; they tend to be a bit hard on themselves and boys tend to be over generous but I think the more practice they do, the better they get. I can sort of discuss it and think, well, what have they done compared with what they have put? We'll compromise on the grade or the level that they've decided on (Teacher R).

Interviewees discussed the ways in which assessments were presented and how work was recorded and kept for evaluation purposes. They generally felt that a portfolio of some kind was a useful way to record pupils' work, but there were practical issues in the implementation of such an approach. In two schools the interviewees explained that they did not encourage pupils to keep work because they had no storage space so it was usual for pupils to have workbooks which were handed in for marking and comment.

An ethos of assessment *for learning* is recommended as the foundation for assessing citizenship (see Huddleston and Kerr, 2006 for an outline of this approach) and participants in this research did seem to have engaged with the formative approaches to assessment. A variety of ways to record pupil achievement were described and shown to me (see Appendix J) including stickers

which were completed and stuck in work books (teacher B), a paper ticket system with tick boxes (teacher F), a grid which pupils filled in and teachers reviewed (teacher T), and various marking rubrics with the emphasis being on comments and ideas for progression together with a mark or grade for effort. The following quotations are indicative of assessment practice described to me:

One idea would be for pupils to actually develop a portfolio because I believe that one of the things that pupils lack across all schools are skills and that means gathering information and presenting information in a portfolio of evidence to show that they've done this, this, this and tracking it (Teacher N).

Well role plays, sometimes one uses them but they can be, [it] can be a bit difficult using that as an assessment because you get the dominant characters and then the others which make it quite difficult to assess their input. They might have quietly had an input in preparation but that doesn't come out and therefore you underestimate what they know and what they understand because they don't like to perform in public (Teacher G).

Interviewees believed that pupils had to be at the centre of the assessment process in order for them to fully appreciate what they had learned in their citizenship lessons. They also felt that regular, but varied modes of delivery would ensure pupils knew that teachers really did recognise what they were achieving and this would increase motivation. The following quotations are indicative of attitudes to different modes of assessment:

At the end of every module there is some form of assessment, but it's not necessarily assessment of knowledge and understanding. It might be reflection on what they have learnt. Perhaps they have produced a leaflet or a poster warning people about the dangers of smoking or whatever, do you know what I mean? (Teacher G).

I've been grading out of 10 to get away from the ABCs and we've found that really helpful in terms of building up their confidence, especially in terms of making them enjoy citizenship and to find their strengths and to get involved in things (Teacher F).

Their favourite one is if you go round with a note pad and write notes without saying a word to them about what's happening, just sound bites about what is happening in the lesson at the time; they are amazed that you can hear across the room! It makes them very aware of the fact that you are there and that you are noticing because they don't realise how much you are noticing of what's going on. Once they are busy you can do that quite easily, so I like doing stuff like that (Teacher R).

At the end of key stage 3 teachers refer to a single attainment target (See Chapter 3, page 70) against which they are expected to judge a pupil's performance and decide whether they are 'Working Towards', 'Working At', or 'Working Beyond' the target (see Appendix B). This aspect of the process is, as Teacher H said, "very subjective" and is something of a problem. In all other National Curriculum subjects achievement is graded at the end of key stages using a series of levels from 1-8 and the interviewees were asked whether they felt citizenship needed a similar structure. Four of the interviewees were against the creation of eight levels at key stage 3; they criticised the idea of levels as inappropriate for the subject:

I think that they are quite arbitrary in themselves and I don't think I would want to teach citizenship based upon a number system or a letter system, I don't think. I don't see that as a purpose of citizenship (Teacher QB).

I think level descriptors would help us in that respect, but how do you measure the kids when they do like a charity drive; how do you measure that? (Teacher N).

Other interviewees were concerned that whilst levels would help with assessment, labelling pupils with a poor level or a grade would mean they felt like a failure as an individual:

I think that turning around to pupils and saying that "You've failed citizenship" or "You are only a level 4" or whatever wouldn't be appropriate, but from a marketing point of view or from working within the rest of the school, levels would be great! They would make life a lot easier! (Teacher QA).

I think to judge a person "Oh, you're a bad citizen – you're a level 3 citizen"; you know, I mean that's awful. You know, I mean, I think it's bad enough saying "You're level 3 at maths or English", but citizenship, a citizen is the whole person, the person in a sense and to give them a level, no thank you! (Teacher G).

However, the NQT interviewees tended to feel strongly that levels would help the pupils to understand how they were achieving in the subject and could provide guidance for continuing into key stage 4 and the possibility of a GCSE:

I would love to have levels. I feel it would help enormously because they [the current three level assessments] mean nothing and even being a so-called 'citizenship specialist', they don't really mean that much to me. You try to find out information and there's not really that much there to help you and support you (Teacher U).

It shocked me [not having levels] and I mean I was unimpressed with that considering that by law we have to now, you know, feedback on their end of key stage 3 assessments, and how do you do that when there is no levels? You've got to try and get them to levels 7 and 8 for their GCSE, haven't you? The exam boards have given you criteria on what each grade bracket means (Teacher T).

Teacher F felt that the current structure for assessment was a waste of their time and she explained that she had attended a conference and listened to Sir Bernard Crick discuss the future of citizenship. She believed that the 'light touch' approach was a lack of commitment on the part of QCA and did not follow the spirit of the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) in developing a subject that would be both valuable and valued.

As assessment is such an important part of the curriculum, most schools are now adopting a computerised system of recording and reporting. These systems are designed to support the end of key stage assessments and other nationally recognised qualifications, so it was surprising to find that two of our interviewees had experienced problems with submitting grades or marks that were not acceptable to their school's computerised records system. Two participants found that they had established a mode of assessment delivery and then had to change this due to the introduction of a computerised records system which did not recognise their citizenship levels ('Working Towards', 'Working At' and 'Working Beyond') and grades for effort. One described what they had done:

Well, at first we just sent home an effort grade for citizenship and that satisfied everybody, so all our marking was done on the effort and that worked absolutely fine. Then the school started to want, because everything was starting to be computerised, the school started to demand: "You ought to be on par with everybody else, so we need an actual level from you." If the school didn't want anything else then we would have stayed with something like this because you know... "Understands some key words etc." and this is what I'm going to be putting into these but, it's time, and so you see I'm going to have to redefine each one as A, B, C as well (Teacher S).

Teachers believed that more practical forms of assessment were more important and appropriate for assessing citizenship. Teacher U had pupils who were not keen on writing and he was trying to encourage these skills rather than force pupils to engage with all of the content:

They are not used to writing so if it's a writing task, they are not used to writing at great length at all. I don't think that's peculiar to this school at all, so they don't like it if they are expected to write an essay (Teacher U).

Other teachers had difficulty in deciding how to apportion marks or make a valid assessment of pupils' progress based upon sparse evidence. Teacher S explained that when a pupil handed in a leaflet for assessment, she struggled to find the right ways to assess and provide feedback to the pupil. She had created her own system of levels of achievement so that pupils could be given a numeric grade; she then asked pupils to reflect upon the comments and say whether they agreed with their grade. This provides a valuable example of combining both the formative and summative approaches, but as the teacher complained, it is time consuming and "I'm afraid that these kids, haven't actually had an interesting time..." (Teacher S).

7.3.3. GCSE

Table 7.8 below shows the majority of the interview schools do not offer a GCSE, whilst two plan to offer it from 2008 and the remaining seven already offer it.

Table 7.8: Is GCSE available in the school (by teacher)

GCSE offered?	Count
Yes	7
No	9
From 2008	2
Total	18

The decision to offer a GCSE in citizenship is not one that schools are taking lightly and whilst two schools provide it as an option, the other five make it a compulsory course of study; this does not mean that all pupils have necessarily to take the examination at the end, but they all follow the same course and produce coursework for assessment. Teachers explained that they followed an official specification because it gave the subject status and as the following quotations explain, they believe that it helps pupils to value the lessons more:

I think that pupils will then start seeing it for the value of what it is to be honest. I'm hoping that the GCSE will raise its profile definitely (Teacher P).

We were keen to have it there at that level and you know some of the brighter youngsters, they like to see some external accreditation for some of the work that they are doing (Teacher A).

There is another dimension to the decision of the five schools which made the GCSE compulsory and this relates to the school's ethos. Four of the five schools had suffered significant difficulties in the recent past: one had been in Special Measures⁴² and the teachers in the other three described how their schools' academic success had suffered largely due to the socio-economic provenance of the pupil body. Teachers explained that pupil behaviour was sometimes an issue, as were external factors such as deprivation, poverty and high rates of parental unemployment (Teacher N). Therefore the decision to make citizenship a compulsory GCSE course was, in these schools, related to raising the status of citizenship so that pupils would want to emulate the ideals and skills offered within that course of study. In contrast, the grammar school Q which also chose to make the GCSE compulsory, claimed that it was simply because their pupils were used to receiving a qualification at the end of a course of study and their parents expected the same. The idea that a pupil would study something for two years and then not receive some kind of award was unthinkable.

Those who offered a GCSE can choose from specifications from three awarding bodies: AQA, Edexcel and OCR (see Endnote 38). They have different reasons for their choice of specification: two preferred OCR because they liked the emphasis on the active element of coursework and the written arguments; four chose Edexcel because of the structure of their coursework element and one used AQA again because of a preference for their coursework structure.

The GCSE for citizenship is a short course meaning it is actually worth half a normal GCSE. From anecdotal evidence I have found that it is common for schools to offer a short course GCSE in Religious Education which pupils study alongside citizenship so that their two short course

results can be combined to make another ‘whole’ GCSE. Three of the schools participating in the study did this:

I know we do it because they do a half GCSE in RE at the same time so we put together, well altogether to make a whole really (Teacher R).

M So they do the two short courses together...

T Yeah, so it sort of gives them a whole one at the end. Yeah, they do that and we also run the full course RE, so I don’t know whether they plan on developing the full course citizenship, it’s whether we can get the curriculum time to do it, but it could be an option I suppose? (Teacher T).

According to one teacher, there are several aspects of the two subjects which overlap and mean that teachers can timetable teaching of those topics strategically so that they save some time:

Everyone in the school does short course RE in their RE lessons, but the kids that opt for citizenship do an upgrade to full course RE as part of their citizenship because the short course RE that everyone does has a lot of citizenship elements (Teacher G).

The majority of respondents felt that they did not need to offer a GCSE and there seemed to be three reasons for this: reduction of exam pressure, lack of space in the timetable and the decision to offer a different type of assessment to reward pupils’ achievements.

Test anxiety is a fast-growing modern phenomenon and there is criticism from both practitioners and those outside of education who believe that pupils in the current system of education are over-tested and stressed by the process (Assessment Reform Group, 2002, 2006; Cizek and Burg, 2005; Baker, 2006; Primary Review: 2007). Schools are under pressure to increase the number of subjects which offer a nationally recognised qualification at the end of a course of study, however many are rebelling against this assumption and are offering citizenship as a subject with a different assessment perspective. In the schools visited, pupils were usually studying for an average of eight or nine GCSEs and teachers felt that pupils did not need further pressure by

adding citizenship. There was belief that pupils enjoyed studying the subject more because there was no examination attached:

When the decision had to be made a few months ago and I asked them, especially the very bright ones. They are under so much pressure and are enjoying the course enough not to need the GCSE. I don't believe they needed it to motivate them (Teacher F).

The position has changed because we think that lots of our kids are being asked to do too many exams (Teacher H).

[I am] not convinced that the GCSE would enhance the appeal of the subject because pupils tend to enjoy the more 'relaxed' atmosphere of the citizenship lessons. Making it an exam subject would undoubtedly make it more popular with some pupils (and some teachers), but it would be difficult to manage (Teacher C).

Other teachers were opposed to a GCSE because it would mean finding space in an already crowded timetable. Two schools had overcome this problem by offering the GCSE as an after-school option, but a further two had made this offer and had no response from pupils. Teachers expressed concern about alienating themselves from their colleagues by citizenship being responsible for another subject losing timetable space:

It [offering a GCSE citizenship] would mean taking a subject off the timetable. It's just timetabling. You would have to say to the Head of RS or someone like that, "Sorry, you've got to reduce your staff, we are going to have citizenship and your kids can't take the full course anymore (Teacher D).

In one school a GCSE was not used on the grounds that they were using an alternative award scheme: ASDAN Bronze, Silver and Gold Award scheme (see endnote 37) instead of a GCSE because it was believed that the content of this was more suited to their pupils. However, the interviewee said that he would like to offer the GCSE as well because "I think that it would help [pupils]; certainly it helps in schools like this" (referring to the poor socio-economic profile of the school) (Teacher U).

Overall, the teachers participating in this study seemed to have a well-planned curriculum for citizenship and this included considered and genuine attempts to be creative with the modes of assessment employed to measure achievements. The choice of a GCSE specification was something that raised many different issues and was the subject of lengthy discussions.

7.3.4. Teachers' perceptions of the value of assessments

Assessment causes teachers the most problems with delivery and development of the curriculum for citizenship. There was not one interviewee who felt that they had a robust and comprehensive structure for assessment. The difficulty in assessment delivery seemed to be linked to whether the subject was offered as a discrete lesson or whether it was offered in a cross-curricular way. It is the latter style of delivery that appears to make collation of achievement for each pupil problematical because the evidence is "spread all over the place" (Teacher M). However, teachers seem to harbour strong feelings about the mode of delivery and as one explained, difficulty in assessment should not have undue influence upon the method of curriculum delivery: "I don't think that we should move to a discrete subject just because that makes it easier to assess it" (Teacher M).

In contrast, another respondent admitted that they felt obliged to bow to the weight of academic testing and results as the mainstay of assessment:

We are a results-driven educational sector now and it does come down to league tables; it will come down to league tables and value-added stuff from key stage 2 to key stage 4 (Teacher N).

In three schools, teachers explained that they preferred the focus of assessments to be at a whole-school level rather than focused on classroom testing or presentations. School N which had no specific framework for delivery or assessment of citizenship did have an event which the teacher

felt “ticked all the boxes for citizenship, should OFSTED ask” (Teacher N). He described the event as:

Oscars ceremonies for Years 7, 8 and 9 kids which are linked into the merits of achievement, progress, effort and community. And the community merit is an important area regarding, you know, making sure that we are working well together as people that we are getting on well; developing those and fostering those things about what being a citizen means (Teacher N).

So whilst Teacher N believed that the school perhaps had no formal framework for citizenship or recognition of pupil achievement in this area, there was in fact a thriving community-based focus of educational practice running from the school; it was citizenship under another name.

Teachers were keen to stress that they wanted their pupils to enjoy the subject, but their enthusiasm was often dented by a lack of experience needed to deliver the required programmes of study. Teacher S explained that they felt the enjoyment and achievement aspects of education could be linked and this was beneficial for any subject. She used self-assessments at the end of each topic with the purpose of motivating her pupils by giving them a say in the development and progress of their own work: however she was cautious about the success of this method, explaining that she felt it “took something away from the fun of learning” and continued to focus her teaching on the measurable outcomes. Teacher F felt that there was little point in *not* encouraging pupils to develop their skills and understand how they had achieved in their citizenship lessons; she felt the process of grading mirrored normal life. In addition, she was suspicious of the notion proposed by other teachers that pupils should not fail citizenship. She felt that if there was a standardised national framework of assessment; this would have to include some measure of failure and there was no problem with this because, she argued:

I want there to be a national thing, why is there a problem with not making it national? Are they saying well we don’t want anybody to fail, well some of our pupils need to succeed, to be successful and they are reaching a very high standard and there is nothing? It all seems to be geared at the lowest understanding (Teacher F).

Assessment *for* learning is an approach that has been heralded by some as essential to successful assessment of citizenship and it is mentioned in all of the DCSF advisory documentation, on the QCA website, and there is a detailed literature supporting its use from the Kings College Assessment Group (see for example, Black *et al*, 2002). From the interviews it would seem that teachers are keen to use formative approaches to appraise learning because they involve pupils in the assessment process; however the issue lies in the value attributed to the assessment on the part of the pupils. Teacher U said that she “always tries to put some kind of constructive comments, something to help them and I try to do some kind of assessment for learning task to help them review what they’ve done and help them improve.” But the issue remains: do pupils really gain from formative approaches or are they likely to question or dismiss this approach because it does not contain an easily measureable outcome?

Teachers endeavour to provide a range of assessment methods, but this can be difficult because they are unusual and take time to embed. There are issues such as pupil modesty – discussed in the previous section: *Assessment framework: modes, GCSE, and methods of reporting* - when using self assessment techniques, but what is perhaps more important is the opportunity for pupils to take responsibility for their own learning:

I usually get them to do a self assessment. It is a good citizenship task in a way; although it’s a bit of a nightmare. I think it’s the right thing to do (Teacher G).

7.3.5. Pupils’ responses to assessments

The teachers who did not offer a GCSE tended to believe that pupils do value the assessments they experience in citizenship; they described a relaxed attitude to the learning which supported a culture of valuing the subject for its own sake. Teachers discussed how pupils felt about the modes of self- and peer-assessment and how they could be “quite hard on themselves” (Teacher M), but they thought pupils appreciated having more of a say in the appraisal of their work. Teachers accepted that they had to spend more time on assessment of citizenship and most made

more effort to ensure that pupils understood how their work was being assessed; they explained that pupils were well aware of how valuable assessments were to their progress:

Quite a few of them think... “I’ve worked so hard on this project but I’m going to be assessed on my write up of it” and so if they do, if they want to be assessed at all, they want to be assessed on the effort that they’ve put into it (Teacher QA).

Those teachers who offered a GCSE were adamant that they had to do this in order to keep their pupils focused and interested in learning about the subject. One of the teachers at a girls’ grammar school explained this particular ethos:

They want to be doing GCSEs. I think it’s very indicative of our pupils across the school, that in order to learn they should be lectured. We definitely have this problem all the way up to sixth form because we have it in other subjects that we teach. The pupils are not appreciative of other ways of learning (Teacher QA).

Interviewees admitted that many pupils have a purely instrumental attitude to their learning and “don’t recognise it [citizenship] as valuable because they don’t get a qualification at the end” (Teacher T) and that they had been compelled to provide a qualification to boost the subject’s value. Teacher T believed that they are in an unenviable position because she had “taught in schools where they don’t do the exam and although they enjoy the lessons, you know, well you know you get a lot of attitude; they take a ‘Well, whatever!’ approach to the subject”. Another interviewee developed this theme further by describing how she believes that pupils have been conditioned to pass examinations since primary school and once they reach the end of key stage 3 they are not interested in subjects which lack an examination at the end. Their attitude is described thus:

If you are not on the exam list then you can’t be very important. And it’s very sad but it’s very true of any subject I think (Teacher D).

Two teachers admitted that pupils in their school were unlikely to know how they had achieved in citizenship. One explained that this was because they did not teach the subject discretely nor did they assess it in any way, whereas the other admitted that:

Pupils would not realise the fact that there's been an assessment made because they get a comment in their report for PSHE/C, but in terms of them actually getting a grade, because that doesn't happen they don't perhaps value the assessment that's being made of them (Teacher E).

7.3.6. Dialogue with parents

I was interested to know if any dialogue had been or was being established with parents regarding the assessment of citizenship. Based upon anecdotal evidence, I expected that the parental perception of the subject might be negative if there is no formal, accredited qualification after the course of study. However, it proved difficult to establish if this supposition was valid because interviewees had very little contact with parents. Four respondents said that initially they did not have a citizenship presence at Parents' Evenings, but that this had changed in recent years and in one case (Teacher R), parents had actually started asking to discuss their children's progress in the subject. One interviewee said that since they had begun awarding grades for citizenship parents had shown more of an interest:

We do get people coming to Parents' Evening and talking to us, whereas if we didn't have a grade, they wouldn't bother to come and talk to us, so we do have status (Teacher S).

Another explained that the status of citizenship had risen as she had insisted upon having a table at school events and Parents' Evenings. She did not find any opposition from parents; in fact she has found that with more parental support the attitude of the pupils has changed:

I do Parents' Evening; they are really impressed with this new subject and how much their pupils are going to get from it but it's a different thing getting the pupils on board sometimes as well because they are not seeing the benefit of it initially. So the more that I see parents, the more the profile will be raised (Teacher P).

Two interviewees told me about negative experiences at Parents' Evenings. One teacher said that parents did not stop to talk to her because they did not seem to view citizenship as important and another found that he had planned what he was going to do at a Parents' Evening only to find out that

... the letter [to parents], it didn't even mention citizenship; it had every other subject on it apart from citizenship which will explain why I hardly got anybody making appointments to see me (Teacher U).

Two teachers said that parents had contacted them because they were concerned about content of the citizenship curriculum. One said that a parent had asked "Why do they have to do this? We do this at home" (Teacher A). He had explained the statutory nature of the subject and the purpose of the lessons and the parent had been more amenable once they understood the nature of citizenship. Teacher H described how a parent had been angry about the inclusion of political knowledge in the citizenship curriculum and did not wish their child to have any political education. He had tried to explain that politics was not the basis of citizenship, but had found it difficult to make himself understood. The pupil was later given the opportunity to opt out of the lessons.

Most of the interviewees had a positive attitude towards citizenship and they felt that overall, the pupils felt that way too. It does seem that the style of delivery and the types of assessment employed have an impact upon pupil perception, but teachers expressed regret at the measurement-led attitude to education which seems to be coming ever more prevalent. The limited dialogue that is conducted with parents is also generally positive with teachers finding that once parents are 'on board' they are likely to see the value in the subject and will, hopefully, pass their enthusiasm and support on to their children. There were instances where the lack of understanding about citizenship was evident and those teachers have a difficult, ongoing task to develop the status of the subject so that it becomes understood, not just by parents, but within their school.

7.4. Making use of assessments of citizenship

7.4.1. The impact on curriculum delivery

Nearly all respondents said that the assessment of citizenship had had an effect upon the curriculum that they delivered, but some were afraid that this meant the lessons were (in the case of schools which had an established programme before 2002) becoming more formulaic and much of the spontaneity was being lost. For example, one of the teachers in School Q felt that the “current affairs” style of citizenship made it flexible, but that impending changes to the curriculum, particularly the move to further prescription and the introduction of levels at key stage 3, would make it a ‘dry’ subject that failed to engage pupils. The need to ensure that pupil interest is maintained and developed had spurred this interviewee to trial a new method of recording progress. She outlined plans for an electronic or E-journal in 2008 and was going to encourage pupils to create an online environment:

It is like, have you seen My Space? (M: Yes) So that sort of thing, it will have them on it and it will talk about and be key reflections on things that they’ve done in projects, so that might be a reflection on something that they’ve done outside of citizenship or in another subject and then they have to link it back (Teacher QA).

Two other schools were investigating a similar approach so that pupils could combine a multi-media approach to both their learning and their assessment of achievement in citizenship. In contrast, there were some teachers who felt rather negative about the evolution of the assessments in citizenship. They were usually happy when the SMT had agreed to include a GCSE specification for citizenship, but this achievement was tainted by how the pupils would choose the subject and which other subjects might be favoured over citizenship. For example, Teacher QA was concerned about whether enough pupils would choose it:

It’s going to end up in the Option Block against General Studies so it will be GS or citizenship which I have real mixed opinions about; on one day I think it’s a good idea and the next I think it’s a terrible idea so I’m really, really not sure (Teacher QA).

Teachers were generally keen that further expertise was introduced into the teaching of citizenship and when, on several occasions, they talked about the PGCE courses available, all interviewees apart from one were in favour of encouraging more people to specialise in citizenship. This seems dependent upon how the SMT behave in schools, as one teacher explained (and many others attested), she did not choose the job as citizenship teacher: it found her, and the rewards were not always palpable:

I sort of evolved into it. I started introducing bits and pieces regarding citizenship and then I realised that this needed to be done, reports needed to be made, an audit was needed. It wasn't being done and whose job was it? I then made an appointment with the Head; wrote a letter and said my concerns and whose job role was it? I wasn't paid for it – but she gave me a lesson a week for doing that (Teacher C).

7.4.2. Future developments

Teachers sometimes said that pupils questioned the value in studying citizenship and there were a minority who did not feel it would be of any use to them once they had left school so teachers have the additional challenge of trying to ensure that pupils understood why it is important. There was some interest in the development of GCE A levels in citizenship and two schools said that they would be keen to try them. From 2008, the largest of the awarding bodies, AQA, is offering (subject to QCA approval) the first AS/A2 level in citizenship. One of the teachers said that she had already contacted them to discuss the specification. One other teacher expressed an interest in a full course GCSE (at the time of the interviews, none of the three main awarding bodies had yet said they will do this), but most interviewees were either not interested, were happy offering the short course in tandem with the RE short course, or knew that regardless of their support for a full course, there was not enough time in their school's timetable. Typical comments included:

I've been on several [courses] and I meet people like me that have just fallen into place and I've started to meet really keen people and one course I went on recently with this lady that had been training in citizenship and I sat there going "wow!" (Teacher D).

Well I, when it was new, I went on a few courses myself and I did, led a whole school INSET; so we sort of went through with staff what it all is and was and to trainee staff here, a little course about it as well as part of their induction, at the

start of each year. We have a PSHE and citizenship handbook with the content, the levels and what the curriculum is we are teaching sort of some ways of doing it as well (Teacher J).

Teachers have plenty of ideas for developing the subject and assessments. Those who were subject specialists had further advantages which derived from their teacher training, but it was evident that all of the participants were committed to developing the profile of citizenship and felt that it had a valuable contribution to make to the school community and to their pupils' education.

The next section presents some further development of the responses from the teachers through the discussion and presentation of Ideal Types (for a summary of this concept, see Chapter 4). Ideal Types are a useful way of reconstructing and presenting the characteristics central to a phenomenon, in the case of this research, the ways in which teachers approach the delivery and assessment of citizenship.

7.5. Ideal Type Models

In the previous section of this chapter the results of the teachers' interviews and their responses to the questionnaire survey revealed a range of accounts, perspectives and opinions about citizenship and its assessment procedures.

I wanted to develop a deeper understanding of the complex relationships that the teachers have with the subject of citizenship and decided upon the construction of Ideal Types (Weber, 1904; Bennett, 1976; Dowding, 1995). This method of analysis was selected because it is an effective means of modelling characteristics of social life and ideal types are primarily concerned with the behaviours and actions which are unique to human beings (Ringer, 2000). As explained in

Chapter 4, ideal types are not an attempt to describe reality; they are not a ‘true’ representation of the teachers who were interviewed, but they are constructed from a range of characteristics which were noted during interviews and extrapolated from the analysis of the questionnaire data. An ideal type is “a theoretical, archetypal or stereotypical model” (Best, 1987:64). Their creation provides the researcher with a benchmark against which the real subjects can be compared. By selecting actual attitudes and behaviours, it was possible to construct ideal type teachers to help investigate further the relationships that I suspected might be evident in the data.

No one of the teachers who participated in the study is likely to be a ‘perfect match’ for a single ideal type; instead most combined the characteristics of two or more types (see Table 7.9, page 264). Creating the ideal types adds another perspective to the data analysis which considers how teachers’ beliefs about the subject, its delivery and how their pupils are responding to citizenship in the classroom.

The ideal types are described within the context of six dimensions of citizenship and assessment:

- (a) The beliefs that teachers have about citizenship
- (b) Teachers’ beliefs about lesson delivery
- (c) The ways in which teachers understand their pupils’ views of citizenship
- (d) How teachers select appropriate methods of assessment
- (e) The beliefs teachers hold about the application of assessments
- (f) Teachers’ understanding of the value of assessments

Three ideal type teachers have been constructed; they are titled: *Inheritor*, *Specialist* and *Innovator*. The characteristics of these ideal-types are described below:

Inheritor

The most significant thing about this teacher is that they were ‘given’ or ‘told to do’ citizenship and are not a subject-specialist. They are usually a humanities teacher who began teaching PSHE or similar subjects and were the ‘most likely candidate’ to become a co-ordinator or the teacher responsible for citizenship. Quite often they are a teacher who is nearing the end of their career or who has been prevented from teaching their first subject. Their overall approach to delivery is school-centred with the subject delivery and assessment framed by the context of the school.

When creating a syllabus for citizenship, the National Curriculum guidance is followed to the letter; the Inheritor ensures that they cover each topic in the programme of study with the aim of ‘ticking all the required boxes’. Inheritors are therefore well-prepared for OFSTED inspections, but rarely show creativity or innovation in their interpretation of the curriculum requirements. Inheritors believe that citizenship is adequately delivered during tutor time allowing about one hour a week for provision; lessons are prepared for their tutor teams in advance so that every tutor teaches the same topic. The Inheritor teacher believes that citizenship does not need to be delivered as a discrete subject because they believe that it is the same as PSHE or should be delivered with PSHE.

For the Inheritor, citizenship is usually assessed using summative techniques comprising: end of topic tests, worksheets and short, multiple-choice tests. These methods are used because they are ‘efficient’ and the pupils ‘like getting marks’. Formative assessments are less popular because the teacher lacks confidence in using them; when they have tried, pupils complained because they received comments rather than a mark. Inheritors feel that the use of summative assessment prepares pupils for the GCSE examination (which is offered only to the brightest pupils) and provides other pupils with a grade which is used for reporting at the end of key stage 3.

The Inheritor believes that pupils are ambivalent about citizenship and do not really know when they are studying it because no attempt is made to differentiate between citizenship and PSHE.

Specialist

A key feature of the Specialist teacher is their knowledge of the subject and the subject-led emphasis that is demonstrated in delivery and assessment of the curriculum. These teachers have had specialist training and demonstrate a commitment to developing citizenship as a central element of their school's curriculum. Delivery is defined by careful selection from the National Curriculum guidance and based upon topics which are relevant and engaging for pupils to ensure a high level of attainment.

The Specialist delivers citizenship as a discrete subject because they believe that it needs to have space in the timetable so that it is recognised as a subject in its own right. This teacher is committed to developing a strong ethos of supporting citizenship across the school and encouraging other staff to take an interest in the subject. They will have actively developed the support of their Senior Management Team in order to promote citizenship. To the Specialist, citizenship is vital to the school.

The compulsory use of a GCSE ensures that the subject develops and then maintains status amongst the other National Curriculum subjects. The Specialist knows the percentage of A* to C results from the previous year and hopes that the school will offer the full course GCSE once available. Specialists believe that pupils like the subject because it offers them a half GCSE and this can be combined with other subjects so that they have another 'whole' GCSE. The Specialist understands that pupils like getting a qualification at the end of a course of study because it reflects their efforts and achievements.

The Specialist believes that assessments are central to the learning process in citizenship and they are dedicated to the use of formative techniques which promote assessment *for* learning, and summative techniques which provide assessments *of* learning. They believe that the basis of assessment is grounded in how pupils will learn from it and what this means for their progression and the development of the subject overall. It is believed that pupils value the subject and appreciate the types of assessment which are different from those they usually experience.

According to the Specialist, successive improvements in attainment will ensure that citizenship receives more resources and its status will continue to grow.

Innovator

The Innovator creates their own curriculum; this is not the norm for other subjects and they believe that other staff are less than enthusiastic about citizenship. This can result in the Innovator being 'out on a limb' and believing that their subject is not taken seriously.

Innovators believe that aspects of citizenship are present in all subjects across the curriculum and that it should be taught in a cross-curricular way, but using a range of methods. The Innovator wants complete control over the way in which the subject is managed and prefers it if there is little intervention and little interest shown by their SMT. Citizenship is *their* subject and they deliver it as they wish. Innovators are risk-takers; they endeavour to involve pupils to a high degree in the development of curriculum content and the delivery of lessons.

Pupils are informed of when they are receiving citizenship through another lesson usually with some indicator on the blackboard or because they are instructed to note which part of the Citizenship curriculum a lesson fulfils. The teacher believes their approach is integrated and well-designed and that all users will know where and when delivery occurs.

The Innovator is not convinced that formalised assessment is appropriate for citizenship. Innovators think that assessment can place unnecessary constraints upon the freedom of teachers and pupils to engage fully with the alternative methods of learning which are most suited to citizenship. They believe that assessment too often ‘drives’ the rest of the curriculum and because the stipulations for assessments in citizenship are ‘light touch’, they are happy to ignore that aspect of the teaching and learning process. Innovators are concerned about external attempts to pressure them to assess citizenship and worry that ‘failure will lead pupils to see themselves as failed citizens.’ They believe that pupils’ achievements could be rewarded through external awards such as Duke of Edinburgh (or similar) – but only if they have to... They believe that pupils appreciate citizenship for itself and like the fact that the subject is not assessed so it becomes a relaxing and enjoyable lesson with no ‘end’.

7.5.1. Validating the types

In order to validate the content of the types, I contacted the interview participants and two lecturers who managed training for PGCE Citizenship students. All received a copy of the ideal types (see above) together with a response form. They were asked to read the types and then consider the following questions:

- Do you see aspects of yourself in any/all of the types? If so, please say which type and try to describe which aspects are familiar to you.
- Is there one type which you particularly relate to? If so, please say which and try to explain why.
- What is your overall reaction to the types?

Before mailing the teachers with the types, I reviewed the interview data and my field notes and designated each teacher with what I considered to be their ‘dominant’ type (s). It was not possible to ‘predict’ the two lecturers’ responses as I had not interviewed them. Both responded so they are coded as L1 and L2. Of the ten who responded to the request for comments about the ideal types, all indicated the type(s) that with which they most closely identified – see Table 7.8 below.

Table 7.8: Comparison of researcher-predicted ideal types with teacher selections

Ideal Type Teacher	Type predicted by researcher	Type with which respondent closely identified
Inheritor	B, E, N	D, N, P, S
Specialist	D, H, P, S, U	B, E, H, P, S, U, L1
Innovator	B, N, S	B, D, H, P, U, L1, L2

As Table 7.8 shows, all respondents except for Teacher E and Lecturer 2 identified with two types – usually Specialist and/or Innovator – with the Inheritor being the least popular type.

Teacher B was emphatic in her rejection of the Inheritor type because she felt her citizenship team were committed and well-trained and, in her words, ‘secure as Specialists’:

I personally don’t relate to this teacher [the Inheritor] at all. Although I have had to manage two or three teachers who have had to take the subject to fill their timetables - It’s very hard to work with these teachers and they rarely fit into our dedicated team, no matter how much you try to guide them (Teacher B).

Teacher D provided a thought-provoking response. From the interview data, she was an individual whom I categorised as Specialist due to her particularly insightful application of the curriculum and her commitment to citizenship. However, she did not appear to see herself as such. Under the heading Specialist on the response sheet she wrote “NA, as I am non-specialist.” She did write a lot under the other two headings and preferred to identify her approach to curriculum delivery with that of an Inheritor:

[Relating to paragraph 2: creating of syllabi] Extreme, but time has been spent checking all topics are touched on (Teacher D)

and the Innovator:

[Relating to the final paragraph: use of external assessments] We have been reluctant and do not want to go down the external exam route (Teacher D).

The respondents were openly critical of the stereotypical and rather blunt content of the ideal types, but this aided the validation as it was possible to see for example, that whilst Teacher U could relate to aspects of Inheritor planning characteristics, he felt that his dominant skills rested in the Specialist domain and in the future, he planned to become more Innovative!

The third ideal type, the Innovator, was the most heavily criticised. Respondents seemed to dislike the suggestion that this teacher might want to minimise or disregard assessment of citizenship; they did not feel that this was appropriate or tenable. For example, Teacher P argued that assessment is necessary to gauge pupils' progress whilst another was quick to defend an innovative approach, but one with room to engage with assessment:

This [Innovator] is similar to my approach, but I do not 'ignore' assessment issues, but seek to find solutions that are fair (Teacher F).

Another respondent added that an Innovator might not necessarily find cross-curricular delivery the most effective means of ensuring a citizenship entitlement:

This does not ring true in terms of curriculum – although a curriculum audit has shown that aspects of citizenship are covered in other core foundation subjects. However, it is difficult to map students' progress across the subjects. Up to now there has been no formal assessment of citizenship – teachers of PSCE has been told that marking, assessment and reporting are minimal (Teacher N).

Whilst some teachers identified aspects of the types with which they agreed, they found it difficult to decide which type was most like them. For example, Teacher S explained that no characteristics of the Inheritor relate to her personal experience of teaching, but she had seen evidence of them in other teachers. She added that some aspects of the Specialist (those relating to training and subject status) were relevant to the subject, but not specifically to her. Teacher P admitted that "I feel I am all of them and would like to aspire to all of them".

Respondents related most commonly to characteristics of Specialist type teachers, but added that they aimed for elements of the Innovator through use of inventive approaches to subject delivery and the application of formative assessments; these were something they tried to do or to which they aspired. Two respondents said that they had ‘inherited’ the subject, but this did not mean that it should take a lesser position in the curriculum. Another explained her reservations about the Inheritor characteristics and the lack of commitment this type might bring to the role:

Thankfully I am not like this. However, there are elements that I possess which include making sure the curriculum is covered. I hate the thought of non-specialists, particularly form tutors, teaching citizenship when they have no passion or enthusiasm for it (Teacher P).

Both of the lecturers commented that they had seen characteristics from all of the types (particularly in their PGCE students), but noted that one type might be on the wane:

Inheritors are declining, partly through retirement (you mention that many are at the end of their career) and replacement, often by my graduates! (Lecturer 1).

Lecturer 1 made similar points, but added that citizenship might be at risk of being ‘dumbed-down’ by its assessments if a Specialist approach focused too much on validation through accreditation:

I’m concerned to some extent that the process of validating citizenship through examinations makes it just like any other subject. Part of the purpose is to bring about change in schools and to re-think what we are doing (Lecturer 1).

Lecturer 2 explained that as a former grammar school teacher he had seen how pupils were motivated and compelled to learn by high levels of achievement rewarded through assessment, but this was not what he considered to be of primary importance:

The school seemed most interested in results whereas I emphasised process and development. When they are taught with enthusiasm and innovation, most pupils perform well in assessment (Lecturer 2).

The teachers and lecturers who responded were clearly interested in the ideal types and two asked whether there were more. If the exercise was to be repeated it is quite possible that further types could be derived from the data sets; however in the case of this research it is the Inheritor, the

Specialist and the Innovator whose characteristics stood out most strongly and formed the basis for the types. Creating and manipulating the ideal types has enabled me to discover more about the dataset, in particular, the ways in which the teachers have developed beliefs and understanding of their own practice and the ways in which they believe pupils learn from citizenship. The types have underlined the value that teachers place upon assessment, but also their concerns about ensuring the right kind of assessment for citizenship. It is fair to claim that most of the respondents fell into the Specialist or Innovator categories (or rather, in reality, they fall somewhere in between), thus they have a commitment, not only to the subject, but also to using assessment to motivate their pupils. As the summary of respondents revealed, it was the NQTs and the most experienced teachers who replied and commented upon the ideal types; this seems to underline their commitment to, and interest in their subject.

As the literature claims, ideal types are an exaggeration of reality, and as others working in educational settings have argued (see for example, Askew *et al*, 1997:5), “no one teacher is likely to fit within the framework of beliefs of any one of the three orientations.” It is expected that many will combine characteristics of two or more and as we have seen this was the case in this study. Once I had collated and reviewed the comments from the teachers, I constructed Table 7.9 (see below) to summarise the contrasting beliefs of the Inheritor, the Specialist and the Innovator. The table comprises the key elements of the types as presented on pages 267 and also includes amendments made to the structure of the types based upon the comments and opinions of the teachers. For example, the description of the Innovator seemed to invoke the most criticism, particularly in relation to the delivery of lessons and assessments. However, ideal types are meant to be an exaggeration of reality, therefore the section entitled ‘Beliefs about selection of appropriate assessments’ was not radically altered after the teachers had been consulted – teachers commented that an Innovator would not be strongly anti-assessment, but might prefer less orthodox methods appropriate to the subject. The table entry now states that it is possible to assess citizenship, but not in the same way as other subjects. This process of checking and

adjusting the types is a useful means of understanding the characteristics of different teaching styles for citizenship. See Table 7.9 below.

Table 7.9: Three ideal type teachers constructed in terms of their perspectives on citizenship & its assessment

Perspectives	Inheritor	Specialist	Innovator
Beliefs about citizenship	Citizenship was 'given' to me; I had no say (or interest) in the matter. It is not really a subject. Pupils can learn about citizenship through PSHE as they did in the past.	Citizenship is a part of the NC and therefore an important part of education. Pupils need to learn about rights and values.	Citizenship is integral to what goes on in schools. It shows pupils that they are a part of community and provides education for living.
Beliefs about lesson delivery	Teaching takes place in tutor time using non-specialists; anyone can teach it given the resources. It can't be offered any other way because that might mean taking time from other subjects. It can be taught with PSHE because they are similar subjects. It is too difficult to arrange visits, but some aspects can be better taught using visiting experts, e.g. drugs education. Active citizenship is kept within school, e.g. school council	Teaching must be on a discrete basis because citizenship needs a timetabled slot like any other subject. Citizenship needs a specialised teacher because it has a unique curriculum. The NC guidelines provide a foundation which is enhanced and extended. Topics can be enhanced through the use of external visitors (and visits). Active citizenship is encouraged through participation in and out of school.	Teaching should be cross-curricular so that citizenship becomes a part of the whole school curriculum. Innovators can find ways to map aspects of citizenship into their subjects successfully. Pupils must be made aware of when they are learning about citizenship and how this relates to other subjects. Collapsed timetable days give the pupils a whole day to develop their knowledge of a topic. Active citizenship is already a part of the school's ethos.
Understanding of pupils' views of citizenship	They probably are not aware that they are learning about citizenship. Their interest is dependent upon the teacher.	Pupils like the subject because it has clear goals and they enjoy the lesson content. Pupils are challenged by citizenship.	Pupils enjoy the less formal approach to the subject. Pupils like being in these lessons.
Beliefs about selection of appropriate assessments	Citizenship is difficult to assess. Short tests and multiple choice tests are the most effective modes. Pupils understand how these tests work.	Assessments are selected based on what is appropriate for the pupils. The 'best' pupils in citizenship are not always the 'best' test takers. Pupils are competent at self and peer assessment.	It is not possible to assess citizenship in the same way as other subjects. Why put a grade on citizenship?
Beliefs about the application of assessments	Citizenship should be given a level grade like all the other NC subjects. Eight end of key stage attainment levels need to be created for citizenship.	Pupils should study towards a GCSE in citizenship. A GCSE motivates the pupils more. A GCSE raises the status of the subject.	The GCSE specifications are 'dumbing down' the content of the curriculum.
Extending the value of assessments	A GCSE in citizenship might help with the subject status, but it won't happen in this school.	Achievement at GCSE will inspire pupils to continue – a GCE will follow.	Pupils don't need a qualification in citizenship to see that it is useful for them.

7.5.2. The types in practice

In the literature (see page 43) it was argued that a potential tension for citizenship could be its place in what is essentially an outcomes-based curriculum. The aims of the citizenship curriculum mean it is more closely aligned to a process-based approach which, as Schiro (2008) claims, places learners at its centre. The review of the literature revealed no evidence of research which considers how teachers comprehend different curricula and adapt their practice in particular ways when delivering the citizenship curriculum. There is no substantive discussion about whether they even perceive citizenship to be an outcomes-based curriculum as opposed to a process-based one and, in terms of the expected outcomes of citizenship, this should be acknowledged. Leighton (2004) argues that understanding how citizenship is best delivered is central to its success. The Ideal Type teachers created here can be of help in drawing out some of the more complex issues related to the context of the citizenship curriculum within what has been described as a market-driven theory of education (McKernan, 2008).

It should be noted that there are typical perspectives relating to practice which are unique to each Ideal Type teacher and which should be further related to curriculum development and the political connotations of teaching and learning. For example, the Innovator is an individual who would strongly identify with a process-based curriculum model; in terms of teaching and learning they could be closely aligned with informal-progressive, child-centred models of education practice exemplified in the Plowden Report (1967) and discussed by Bennett (1976; 1987). The Innovator claims to generate genuine classroom debate and promote skills which encourage pupils to challenge the status quo, but contends that such skills are not easily assessed. When compared to the citizenship continuum (see Figure 2.1, page 31) the Innovator's approach is "maximal" (McLaughlin, 1992) and provides a rich, "deep" context for citizenship skill development (Clarke, 1996). In the context of the aims of the curriculum, the way the Innovator presents citizenship ensures that the "skills of participation and responsible action" (QCA,

1999:6) together with the “knowledge and understanding about being informed citizens” are developed without too much emphasis being placed upon a specific assessment goal or grade. Rather, the Innovator assists pupils in the acquisition of skills which allow them to reflect upon their own learning and use this process of self-appraisal to enrich and develop their understanding of citizenship.

In contrast, the Inheritor is more compliant and likely to consider that the so-called formal-traditional approach to teaching (Bennett, 1976) is the most effective means of delivering any curriculum. The Inheritor’s attitudes are aligned to a prescriptive curriculum, one which affords the teacher a significant amount of control over their pupils (Langveld, 1981; Myers, 2007) but not necessarily over content. The idea that a subject such as citizenship might provide a means of deviating from the prescribed ‘norm’ is unacceptable to an Inheritor. They prefer the structure of an objectives-based curriculum delivery with its systematic approach to achieving set criteria and objectives (Parsons, 1980). Inheritors will typically favour summative means of assessment which are more aligned to a procedure of channelling pupils’ skills towards a specific goal. This type of approach to teaching means that Inheritors are more likely to focus upon the knowledge-based sections of the curriculum and are less keen to develop active citizenship skills which are more difficult to assess. Consequently, the pupils of Inheritors are likely to be more develop a passive, “minimal” (McLaughlin, 1992) attitude towards citizenship. Pupils’ attitudes will demonstrate an understanding of citizenship which is suited to summative, assessment of learning techniques including written tests and examinations. Thus, the Inheritor fosters a narrow understanding of citizenship practice and their focus for achievement tends to be based upon the grade or marks for knowledge-based assessments.

The Specialist-type teacher is perhaps the most able to successfully develop the citizenship curriculum in its objectives-based framework by using a combination of the Progressive and

Exploratory models for teaching (Bennett, 1976; 1987). When combined with their subject expertise, the Specialist's delivery provides a rich and inventive approach to teaching and learning. The Specialist, like the Innovator, is keen to nurture "maximal" attitudes (McLaughlin, 1992) towards citizenship and will encourage pupils to develop knowledge of the subject and the ability to apply practical citizenship skills. Unlike the Innovator, the Specialist may not take a radical approach to teaching, but nor do they follow the conservative methods of the Inheritor. Instead, the Specialist has genuine expertise and a commitment. Specialists are few in number (Leighton, 2006), but their in-depth knowledge of citizenship combined with particular, subject-related skills allows them to develop tangible citizenship skills in all of their pupils. Whilst the Specialist might offer a qualification (such as a GCSE) to elevate the subject's status, they acknowledge that this should not be viewed as the 'end' of a pupil's experience of citizenship. The Specialist appreciates Stenhouse's (1987) proposal that appropriate methods of assessment include more than written examinations and they acknowledge their responsibility in taking the initiative in developing creative means of assessment (Breslin, 2006). Using a range of methods which encompass both assessment of learning and assessment for learning, the Specialist believes assessment to be integral to the development of citizenship skills in all of their pupils.

CHAPTER 8. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The results are discussed in Chapter 9. The following section provides a summary of the three results chapters in the following order: the questionnaire responses, pupil interviews and teacher interviews.

Questionnaire results

Respondents comprised a broadly representative group of teachers and pupils from schools across England. The majority of teachers had taught for between 6-10 years and usually taught citizenship as a second subject. The majority of teachers claimed that they had never received training and just nine respondents had a PGCE citizenship qualification. The most popular method of delivering citizenship used both cross-curricular and discrete methods.

Schools tend to use portfolios as a means of collating and presenting evidence of work for assessment. Examinations and tests proved to be the second most popular way of assessing progress and these were used more at key stage 4 than at key stage 3, particularly when schools were preparing for a GCSE. Achievements were also recognised in a wide range of ways including reports, prizes/awards and through assemblies. A minority of schools use GCSE examinations and reasons for choosing to offer a specification included elevation of the subject's status and as a formal reward for pupils' efforts. In contrast, schools which chose not to offer the specification explained that this was due to lack of space in the timetable, lack of subject expertise and concern about over-testing. Teachers were asked to rate a series of statements about attitudes towards citizenship and this revealed that whilst respondents believed that the purpose of citizenship was understood by pupils and parents, this was not necessarily shared with colleagues who often confused the subject with PSHE. Teachers struggled to make the assessment structure coherent for both pupils and parents but this is not always successful. Overall, teachers were

generally positive about the value of citizenship and believed that it enhanced pupils' self awareness and understanding of their legal rights and responsibilities.

Less than a third of the pupils who responded said that their school offered a GCSE in citizenship and those who were not taking the examination explained that they did not want to take another qualification because they felt over-tested or because they felt it was not a useful subject. Pupils described a range of assessment techniques and these tended to vary more at key stages 9 and 10 before becoming more focused upon coursework or tests in year 11. Pupils' responses indicated strong beliefs about the positive value of citizenship, but generally, pupils agreed that citizenship was difficult to assess and the majority did not feel a qualification in citizenship was of comparable value to other subjects. The linear regression analysis resulted in three of the statements having statistically significant outcomes. Pupils' perceptions of the value and purpose of citizenship lessons was affected by age (younger pupils were less interested than their older peers). There was a difference between girls' and boys' responses regarding the difficulty of citizenship tests and pupils' interest in taking an examination in citizenship also differed across the year groups; younger pupils were less keen to take an exam than their older peers. Pupils' definitions of citizenship produced a range of 'categories' with respondents relating the subject to life beyond school and extending their knowledge of the law/rights.

Interview results: pupils

The data generated by interviews with 58 pupils in years 9-11 was analysed using *Successive Approximation* (Neuman, 2004). Three overarching concepts were created: Learning about citizenship; Talking about assessments of citizenship; and The value and use of citizenship. The data was categorised under each heading and exemplified using quotations from the participants.

Pupils generally seemed to feel that citizenship was relevant to them and enjoyed learning about rights and laws; however, it was common for pupils to describe citizenship as a 'doss' or 'easy' lesson. Many pupils recognised a lack of subject expertise in their teachers. Lessons were viewed as popular due to the way in which they were delivered; pupils tended to see them as 'different' and enjoyed the less formal approach to delivery such as group discussions and debates. There was an awareness of delivery issues amongst the pupils; they understood that timetabling constraints meant they could only have a limited number of lessons in citizenship, but felt that this made the subject less important. The content of lessons was important to pupils. They appeared to enjoy the more active elements, but resented repetition of 'boring' legal and political aspects of the curriculum.

Assessment is a contentious issue for pupils. They are not keen on formative assessments which provide no grade or mark. Most pupils understood that assessing citizenship was not an easy task, but they wanted to be able to compare their progress with other subjects. Pupils' understanding of assessments varied; some did not believe formative pieces of work to be of any value, whereas others felt that extended writing about important issues helped them to develop opinions and ideas. Pupils found the use of peer and self assessments problematical. Fear of upsetting friends or a compulsion to be modest meant that pupils did not always give an appropriate feedback. Some pupils offered ideas for improving or extending the assessment of citizenship such as filming debates or grading participation in voluntary work. One pupil felt that an oral examination would be a more effective means of judging citizenship knowledge and application. Several pupils claimed that assessment of citizenship was valueless; they believed that citizenship was about personal opinion and there was no way this could be effectively graded.

The value of citizenship is dependent upon the qualifications which are linked to it. The short course GCSE is one of the fastest growing qualifications, but pupils derided its value by claiming

it was a half measure. However, other pupils felt that because they were compelled to study the subject, they might as well have something to show for their work. Pupils felt that it was only of use in jobs linked to the law, caring professions or the voluntary sector. Most pupils did not feel that the subject was of any relevance to ‘everyday’ professions.

Interview results: teachers

Nineteen teachers participated in the interviews. The data was analysed in the same way as the pupils’ and four overarching concepts were created: Implementing citizenship; Curriculum and assessment; The value of citizenship; and Making use of assessments of citizenship. The majority of teachers had received no training before they started teaching the citizenship curriculum. Some were keen to see its introduction whilst others felt that their Senior Management Team (SMT) failed to take the subject seriously. Timetabling was an issue in all schools; teachers felt there was not enough time devoted to the subject and this meant that the status of citizenship was undermined. Half of the interviewees were able to offer citizenship in a discrete lesson slot, but the majority of schools only offered one hour a week for citizenship and they all felt this was not enough time. Teachers felt that pupils like the way lessons are delivered, but this was interpreted by a minority of pupils as meaning that the lesson is of no value. Teachers tended to believe that pupils find it difficult to differentiate between PSHE and citizenship; sometimes this was due to their school’s policy of teaching the subjects together and other teachers confessed that they found it hard to see the difference themselves.

The data permitted the construction and validation of three ideal-type teachers: Inheritor, Specialist and Innovator. These pure models added further detail to the findings from the study. The types revealed the value that teachers place upon assessment and their wish to improve this area of their practice. The types also enhanced my understanding of how teachers have developed beliefs and knowledge of citizenship and the ways in which their pupils respond to lessons.

Assessment is the most challenging aspect of delivering citizenship. Teachers felt that it was difficult to move beyond the knowledge-based attainment targets and help pupils to understand the value of voluntary and active citizenship through what are largely perceived as less important, ungraded assessments. They described a range of assessment techniques and, when used, found that self- and peer-assessments were popular, but that pupils still lacked confidence when making judgements. The teachers had mixed feelings about the use of levels for the end of key stage 3 tests; some felt they should be used so that citizenship could be compared to other subjects. However, others felt that failure to meet a certain level would lead pupils to believe they had failed as a citizen. The use of GCSEs was also contentious: teachers who used them felt they afforded citizenship with more status. Those who did not offer a GCSE either believed that it would not enhance the subject significantly or could not offer it due to timetabling restrictions. The majority of teachers felt that the assessment of citizenship had had an effect upon their approaches to curriculum delivery and this meant that lessons were in danger of becoming formulaic. They were keen to see more training available for all teachers and an increase in the number of specialist teachers in citizenship. Overall, teachers wanted to see the subject succeed and believed it to be a valuable addition to the school timetable.

The next chapter will take the results and discuss how they can be applied to the questions posed by this research. The discussion draws together commentary from the literature and the empirical study and discusses what the results reveal and how this relates to the wider picture of citizenship in England, as a means of education and as a global entity.

CHAPTER 9. DISCUSSION

The empirical section of this research focused on the responses from pupils and teachers in schools, but there is the wider, contextual picture which now needs examining in order to see where the results of the study fit within the framework of educational theory and policy. A theme which runs throughout this study is the perceived value of citizenship; the literature (see Chapter 2, pages 22-27) and the results of the survey and interviews (see Chapters 5-8) demonstrate some concern about the decision to include citizenship in the National Curriculum. Citizenship is now compulsory for all pupils in state-maintained secondary schools, yet some teachers still struggle to clarify what the subject really means and others are uncertain about how best to deliver it. In addition, we have a national system of assessment which is heavily reliant upon summative testing (Broadfoot, 2007) and has created a culture of values based upon the extent to which a subject can reliably be measured and graded (Richardson, 2006). Assessment of citizenship is proving difficult (Kerr *et al*, 2007; OFSTED, 2004, 2006) because teachers and pupils seem reluctant to believe that citizenship can be assessed in the same way as other subjects and are sceptical of whether a qualification in citizenship has any specific currency.

This chapter discusses the findings from the empirical study, considers the ways in which they answer the research questions and the contribution that they make to the field of assessment in citizenship education. There are some significant issues which emerged from the empirical study and these provide answers to more than one of the research questions, but other findings were very specific to individual questions. The answers to the research questions are presented in the first part, and followed in the second part by a broader discussion of the findings in relation to current policy and practice.

9.1. The Research Questions

Five research questions were central to the study:

1. How is the citizenship curriculum for secondary education in England assessed?
2. What is the rationale for assessment of citizenship education in secondary schools?
3. What is the rationale for the modes of assessment currently used for citizenship?
4. How is assessment of citizenship perceived and valued by its primary users – teachers and pupils?
5. What impact does assessment have upon the implementation of citizenship within a school's curriculum?

The following section discusses the answers to each question in turn.

1. How is the citizenship curriculum for secondary education in England assessed?

Chapter 3 described the way in which documentation and guidance from the QCA and the DfES recommended ways in which schools can assess citizenship, but this is only one part of the story. As Brett (2004) contends, policy makers proffer a range of recommendations for assessment, but it is not necessarily the case that teachers can, or indeed do, put these ideas into practice. This is not to say that teachers reject such proposals, but more often there are a range of factors which prevent them from doing so. The results of the interviews (see Chapter 7) revealed that time, resources and financial constraints prevented some teachers from assessing citizenship in the ways recommended by QCA. This underlines how practice in schools can be very different from recommended policies.

Policy guidance (see QCA, 2001; Huddleston and Kerr, 2006) recommends mixing formative and summative methods of assessment, using a GCSE qualification and reporting progress to parents. A mixed-mode approach to assessment is well-supported by evidence from the literature (see Chapter 3) and schools are developing a range of practices through implementation of the

Secondary Strategy recommendations (see for example, DfES, 2002). Effective structuring of assessment in schools requires the application of a range of assessment techniques appropriate for both pupils and the subject (Broadfoot, 1996; Black and Wiliam, 1998; Weeden and Winter, 1999; Wilmut, 2005).

When teachers consider pupils' achievements in citizenship they are expected to give equal weight to the three strands in the Programmes of Study: 'enquiry and communication', 'participation and responsible action' and 'knowledge and understanding'. Pupils' achievements are then graded in terms of whether they are 'Working towards', 'Working at' or 'Working beyond' the end of key stage descriptor (see Chapter 3, page 70-1). Huddleston and Kerr (2006:148) also suggest the use of assessment of learning methods to "provide students with qualitative feedback on their progress". The results of tests, essays, and other methods of assessment should reflect achievements across a range of citizenship activities. Assessment *for* learning (AfL) should be used to "raise students' achievements" and to empower them to "take action to improve their own performance" (*ibid*, 146-7). However, as the literature indicates (see Chapter 3, pages 84-5), application of AfL techniques is something which needs both time and investment in training for staff; a pedagogical shift on the part of teachers is required (Graham, 2005) and pupils too, need time to accommodate a means of assessment which is not 'grade-led' (Black and Wiliam, 1998; Assessment Reform Group, 2002; Black *et al*, 2005).

This study found that schools used a relatively small range of assessment techniques with portfolios being the most popular mode for pupils in years 9 and 10 and then summative tests or examinations being more commonly used in year 11. The focus upon 'graded' assessments was usually because teachers believed that pupils preferred these methods and because they were easier to prepare and administer. Some teachers admitted that they felt unconfident about experimenting with assessments and if they did, found pupils to be negative about the value of

formative methods. Any lack of confidence expressed by teachers should be viewed as a significant concern because reluctance to apply different techniques can result in what Tudor (2001) describes as pedestrian and uninspiring approaches to assessment which are likely to have an adverse affect upon pupils' responses to the subject.

The overall focus on citizenship assessments in schools appears to be upon 'Knowledge and Understanding' criteria; these are relatively straightforward to measure because tests can be constructed which rely less upon formative evaluations. And, as previous studies have shown (see Chapter 3, pages 94-5), teachers prefer to use a familiar assessment framework which is more reliant upon summative modes. There were however, pockets of inventive and experimental practice performed by strongly 'Specialist' or 'Innovator-type' teachers. For example, School S had graded pupils who participated in a mock trial and this had counted towards coursework for a GCSE qualification. The use of GCSE qualifications for citizenship is still limited in schools and only a small proportion of my respondents used an external specification to guide teaching in years 10 and 11 (see page 245). The majority of respondents felt that a report to parents was sufficient evidence of achievement for pupils in years 10 and 11 and therefore assessments of work were limited to two or three a year.

What is particularly striking about the approaches to assessment of citizenship is the variety and lack of parity between schools. Whilst in School D, pupils were taking written tests and conducting self-assessments on a regular basis, in School B, all pupils had to take a GCSE qualification and in School N there was no assessment at all. This reveals what can be aptly described as a 'free for all' approach to assessment of citizenship and it is perhaps unsurprising that teachers admitted that assessment caused them the most problems when planning teaching and learning for citizenship.

2. *What is the rationale for assessment of citizenship education in secondary schools?*

According to official policy, the rationale for all school-based assessment is based upon a common practice embedded within the National Curriculum which means that all statutory subjects are regularly assessed and pupils' progress is recorded at the end of key stage 3 (National Curriculum Online, 2007). Citizenship is no different, and as the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) noted:

Day-to-day assessment supports teaching and learning in citizenship. It helps teachers to clarify their learning objectives and articulate them to pupils, and provides a measure of progress that pupils have made in the learning outcomes (QCA, 1998:39).

Thus, the official view (QCA, 2001) is that assessment for citizenship is aimed at making pupils sure of their progress and aiding teachers in their delivery of the subject. In schools, the rationale for assessment appears, according to this study, to be largely similar. Teachers want pupils to be engaged with the subject and they acknowledge that pupils want to be graded and tested so that they can 'see' how they are achieving. Such beliefs are borne out by the assessment literature (see for example, Harland, 2000; Leighton, 2006) which claims that, from a pupil's perspective, no assessment equals no value to the subject. However, some of the teachers explained that they felt under-confident of their ability to assess citizenship appropriately, but nonetheless, they felt it was important to do so (see pages 242-246). Concern about the appropriateness of assessments for citizenship is raised in many of the current studies based in schools and, as we saw in Chapter 3, the NfER research (Kerr *et al*, 2004, 2007) notes that assessment is, even five years after the introduction of the subject, still in need of development.

In Chapters 5 and 7, the results demonstrate that the teachers' perceptions of citizenship are guided, and sometimes confounded, by a surprising number of issues. When they have to select and deliver assessments, the process is often made difficult by their prevailing beliefs. The majority of the teachers' opinions differed from one another not only in their conceptions of

citizenship (the subject), but also in the ways in which it should be assessed. This is best demonstrated in Figure 9.1 (see below).

Figure 9.1: Teachers' conceptions of citizenship and assessment

		Concept of citizenship			
Concept of assessment		Conforms to the NC definition		Deviates from the NC definition	
	Should be assessed	1		2	
		1a Formal summative	1b Informal formative	2a Formal summative	2b Informal formative
	Should not be assessed	3		4	

The teachers who participated in this research fall into one or another of the eight categories:

1. Teachers whose concept of citizenship conforms to the NC definitions and who believe it should be assessed by a range of methods.
 - 1a. Teachers whose concept of citizenship conforms to the NC definitions and who believe it should be assessed by formal, summative modes of assessment.
 - 1b. Teachers whose concept of citizenship conforms to the NC definitions and who believe it should be assessed by informal, formative modes of assessment.
2. Teachers whose concept of citizenship deviates from the NC definitions and who believe it should be assessed by a range of methods.
 - 2a. Teachers whose concept of citizenship deviates from the NC definitions and who believe it should be assessed by formal, summative modes of assessment.
 - 2b. Teachers whose concept of citizenship deviates from the NC definitions and who believe it should be assessed by informal, formative modes of assessment.
3. Teachers whose concept of citizenship conforms to the NC definitions and who believe it should not be assessed.

4. Teachers whose concept of citizenship deviates from the NC definitions and who believe it should not be assessed.

The model is designed to demonstrate that a positive conception of citizenship is not necessarily indicative of a belief that it should be assessed in all of the ways suggested by policy makers, or that it should be assessed at all. As some of the discussions in the literature in Chapters 3 and 4 revealed, the development of assessment for citizenship was a prolonged process and research by Davies *et al* (1999) had already predicted that teachers would not necessarily be keen to be assessors. Teachers' attitudes in this regard will be affected by the individual's perspective in respect of their position as a teacher of citizenship, with or without responsibility for its co-ordination, and their training and preparation to deliver the subject. We can see this in terms of the ideal types constructed earlier (see Chapter 7, page 267). For example, Inheritors are likely to fall into group 1a or 3 because they tend to follow the curriculum guidance but are 'reluctant' assessors; any attempts to assess are limited by an unwillingness to experiment or introduce a new way of assessing. In contrast, the Innovators might fall into group 4 because of their reluctance to make citizenship conform to the prescriptive structure of the National Curriculum. Innovators do not reject the idea of citizenship education; rather the current structure of the curriculum fails to fit with their particular conception of the subject. Many participants in the survey, and many of those interviewed, were unsure about assessment of citizenship. However, the majority of the teachers fell into group 1 – the Specialist perspective of teaching the subject – and preferred to use a range of means by which they could assess the subject and meet National Curriculum criteria. There was a genuine commitment amongst most participants to assess citizenship using a range of means, but the actual practice was often constrained by external forces or lack of experience. These difficulties are significant, because as we saw in Chapter 3, teachers (and it seems particularly Inheritors), need to develop some aspects of their assessment literacy in relation to the subject of citizenship. From the outset, policymakers (QCA, 1998) and researchers (Kerr, 1999; 2001) have stated, both implicitly and explicitly, that there would be tensions in creating a suitable framework for assessment (see Chapter 3).

As the survey results indicated (see Chapter 5), there were also teachers who did not believe that assessment was possible. However, these respondents explained that they were afraid that assessment could easily be misconstrued as a measure of the person and this would have a detrimental effect upon pupils. Several teachers felt that an assessment would be perceived as a personal judgement and could be harmful to a pupil's self esteem. These concerns were evident in the literature (see Chapter 3, page 59), and such arguments suggest two things: first, a lack of conceptual understanding of assessment and second, a misplaced belief that pupils do not fully comprehend what assessments of their achievement mean. As Kerr (2002) concludes, fear that a poor grade in citizenship will mean that a pupil believes she is a poor individual, suggests a confused understanding of the *nature* and *purpose* of assessing citizenship. It was encouraging therefore, to find that pupils had no such fears of being labelled (see page 182-3). Indeed, none of the pupils interviewed voiced concerns or confusion regarding the meaning of their assessments in citizenship.

3. *What is the rationale for modes of assessment currently used for citizenship?*

There are a range of ways in which citizenship can be assessed: summative tests or exams can be used to ascertain how much knowledge and understanding pupils have of the subject (Huddleston and Kerr, 2006), but other methods are more suited to assessing skills development or evidence of active citizenship. The Crick Report (QCA, 1998: statement 5.6.1) claimed that modes of assessment used with existing National Curriculum subjects were "inappropriate for citizenship", but did not provide a comprehensive outline for how an alternative framework might be constructed. Therefore, what we see in the subsequent assessment guidance (QCA, 2000; 2001) are recommendations of a 'light touch' approach with a range of possible methods on offer. A combination of summative and formative assessments is recommended so that pupils receive:

- on-going qualitative feedback (assessment for learning)
- occasional checks on performance (assessment of learning)

(Huddleston and Kerr, 2006:142)

However, it seems that this ‘light touch’ approach is problematic and the key issues relating to this were addressed in Chapter 3. Recent research (Breslin, 2006) claims that there is a tangible ‘deficit’ in the assessment of citizenship and that the implications of this in terms of engagement with the subject should not be underestimated. It is recognised that the use of appropriate assessments can act as a lever for elevating the status of citizenship, but as Barnes *et al*’s (2000) study found, teachers need further training in order to use assessments as a force for motivation and development of pupil engagement.

The modes of assessment used by schools taking part in this study were varied. The questionnaire survey (see page 154-5) revealed that portfolios/diaries and presentations are popular in all schools, but written tests are more commonly used at key stage 4. Schools which chose to offer a GCSE explained that it helped to elevate the status of the subject and motivated pupils to take citizenship seriously. Such findings are well-supported by the literature (see for example, Harland, 2000; Newton, 2002) whose research studies conclude that nationally recognised qualifications linked to a subject increase its status in the eyes of pupils and parents. The use of assessments which result in a recognised qualification are of high priority because school achievements (in the form of qualifications) have a profound effect upon pupils’ life chances (MacDonald and Brooker, 1999; Weeden, 2005).

However, it should be noted that the majority of teachers who participated in this study were still unsure about the use of a GCSE: some were hostile and felt that it added to the test-heavy culture, but others were simply not able to accommodate another GCSE subject in their school’s timetable. This is acknowledged by Breslin (2006) – see Chapter 3, page 67 – who claims that QCA and the DCSF have to advise teachers more effectively and enable schools to give citizenship the time and resources that it requires.

Modes of assessment were selected based upon appropriateness for pupils. For example, in School B, the teacher explained that she used debates and written tests because she considered pupils who were high achievers in citizenship to be better suited to oral assessments. Pupils in school A were adept at self-assessing and their teacher used this method with some success. In school Q, the focus of testing was more orientated to written examinations and assessments linked to the GCSE specification (see page 252). They explained that their pupils preferred summative assessments and wanted to know how they performed in citizenship so that they could compare their achievements with those in other subjects.

Assessment is still dominated by the summative written tests, multiple choice quizzes and essays and this is indicative of the time constraints experienced by teachers. Summative assessments are time-efficient and relatively easy to administer whereas formative feedback is time-consuming and, as research by Gijgels and Dochy (2006) found, less popular with pupils. Whilst the results of research by Winter and Weeden (1999) and Black *et al* (2005) indicate that formative assessment is a richer form of feedback, it seems that assessments which result in a grade are more popular simply because they are more easily understood and preferred by pupils.

4. How is assessment of citizenship perceived and valued by its primary users – teachers and students?

Both the questionnaire survey and the interviews demonstrated that the majority of teachers and pupils feel that citizenship is a worthwhile subject, but its assessments are problematical. Firstly, the responses to the questionnaire survey (see Chapter 5) revealed that pupils did not believe a qualification in citizenship was as valuable as one in another subject, suggesting that they would be reluctant to choose a GCSE should it be an option for them. The status of subjects based upon the ‘usefulness’ of a GCSE is something that is discussed in the literature (see page 94). Weeden’s (2005) study found that pupils consider subject choice at GCSE against a rapidly

diversifying world of employment. If they cannot see an obvious connection with a subject and their expected employment, pupils will discount that subject immediately. Citizenship is particularly vulnerable because, as we have seen in the literature in Chapter 2 and in the results of the empirical study (Chapters 5-8), there is confusion about what the subject is, and therefore how it can be applied to the world beyond school.

Pupils felt that testing what they had learned was a difficult task for teachers to undertake and whilst they felt that the assessments they experienced were straightforward, they also believed that it was not easy to do well in citizenship assessments (see Chapter 5, pages 183). The responses from teachers supported the pupils' beliefs; teachers felt that pupils were not always clear about what was required of them, particularly because at the end of key stage 3 the attainment level criteria are different from those in other subjects (see Chapter 7, pages 243-4).

The interviews revealed perceptions of assessment in more detail (see Chapters 6 & 7). A minority of pupils admitted that they were unclear about whether they had been assessed, but most pupils were able to describe whether they had experienced a test or other forms of assessment. They explained the value of assessments in helping them to see how well they were progressing in subjects but, in schools where a framework for assessment was unclear, pupils were critical and claimed that they did not really take the subject seriously because it did not result in a grade or qualification. Interviews with pupils frequently ended up focusing on the use of a citizenship qualification outside of the school setting; these proved fruitful discussions because some, more able pupils were keen to suggest ways in which assessment might be improved. Their ideas and suggestions often extended beyond policy guidance recommendations. This mirrors some of the literature (see Chapter 3) which claims the process of assessment can be enhanced with pupil involvement (Lambert, 2005) and that pupil motivation improves when they participate in their learning experiences to this degree (Gipps, 1994).

As we saw on page 213 (Chapter 6), pupils from School B suggested an oral examination and this idea was echoed in comments from other pupils who added that they should have the opportunity to express their ideas and opinions in ways other than through written tests and essays.

Teachers also believed that assessments were important and they wanted pupils to understand how they were progressing in citizenship so that they would be motivated by the subject. However, they conceded that more could be done to make assessment more straightforward and comparable with other National Curriculum subjects. It was the Innovators and Specialists (see Chapter 7, page 259-60) who demonstrated the most creative and enthusiastic approaches to assessment, whereas their Inheritor colleagues tended to have more conservative or narrow views on the subject. It was evident that more has to be done to increase the status of citizenship and this, teachers believe, can be achieved if some reform of assessment occurs. Whilst some teachers discussed the on-going development of assessments and provided examples of these (see Appendix J), others did not; either because they lack appropriate training or their Senior Management Team were not encouraging them to develop assessment. Specialist teachers were more likely to have been through an official PGCE training route and their approaches to assessment tended to be more creative than those of their Innovator and Inheritor colleagues. The Specialists with a PGCE discussed the kind of training they had received during their course and all claimed that they had been encouraged to experiment with a range of assessment techniques. However, what is clear from the results of the study is that the majority of teachers currently teaching citizenship are not necessarily receiving all the training that they require. There is the need for further, extended training in assessment techniques and practice for citizenship for the non-Specialist teachers. Only three teachers mentioned having training in assessment once they had begun teaching citizenship and this appears to be a significant gap in the provision. As Brett (2004) claims, the assessment goals for citizenship are still unclear consequently; teachers, pupils and parents are uncertain about what achievement in citizenship really means.

5. *What impact does assessment have upon the implementation of citizenship within a school's curriculum?*

It is difficult to conclude that assessment methods have a blanket impact upon subject delivery in citizenship, but there are results from the study which suggest that, in some circumstances, the assessment could, or did, affect the ways in which the subject was taught. This is a relatively small study and consequently, the results should be treated cautiously. However, when we review the answers to the previous four questions it is possible to see where practice, and particularly difficulties with practice, has implications for teachers and policy makers. I have identified a number of issues which revealed tensions between curriculum delivery and assessment: the minimal delivery approach; curriculum direction from the GCSE; and assessment as learning.

If a school has no clearly defined curriculum, decides not to call the subject 'citizenship' (see page 250) and offers a minimal curriculum, then there is a citizenship deficit. The 'no delivery' approach was only evident in school N in this study, but some of the interviews revealed that when teachers were unclear about assessment, they were also not entirely confident with their delivery of the curriculum (see Chapter 7, pages 230-231). Schools which chose to use a citizenship/PSHE combined name, for example 'PSCE' or 'PSHCE', reduce the value of citizenship as it becomes a subject that is perceived by pupils to have little value. When this mixed-mode of delivery is combined with a minimal assessment structure, the overall effect is an ill-defined subject which pupils will not take seriously. These issues negate the purpose of citizenship and are damaging to the aims of those who view citizenship as a means of effecting purposive social aims. The claim by UNICEF (2004:10) that citizenship is able to hit "a number of social bull's eyes" is a substantive one and, given further training and resources, teachers (particularly the less confident Inheritors), should be able to deliver the subject to greater effect.

The citizenship curriculum can be directed and strengthened through the use of a GCSE specification. The use of an external specification is helpful for teachers as it provides a clear and prescribed framework for teaching. Teachers who used a GCSE specification claimed that their pupils were more motivated and in two schools (Q and P), pupils in Year 9 were already preparing coursework. Schools which offered a GCSE were not necessarily more organised than others, but their pupils liked the fact that they would ‘get something out of the course’ and teachers admitted that following a specification was, in most instances, easier and pupils preferred it (see Chapter 5, page 160-1). However, it should be noted that using a prescribed form of assessment such as a GCSE can also place limitations upon curriculum content. In Chapter 3 it was argued that teachers should be cautious about placing the ‘assessment cart before the curriculum horse’ and some research (see for example, Barnes *et al*, 2000) suggests that reliance upon achievement through a nationally recognised assessment will result in the inevitable dilution of subject content. The interviews with pupils (see Chapter 6) revealed that some aspects of the citizenship curriculum, most notably the active and participatory elements, were regarded as less important than the knowledge-based content. Thus, some pupils’ perceptions of the subject were at best, disinterested and, at worst, dismissive.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the key to successful assessment is to see it as part of the process rather than an end in itself, or even something which inhibits the learning process (Black, *et al*, 2005; Broadfoot, 2007). The Specialists and Innovators (Chapter 7, page 259-260) make more use of different types of assessment. Over-assessment is detrimental to both the teaching and learning processes (Wragg, 2001), but creating embedded forms of assessment which involve the pupils is more likely to encourage achievement and ensure that citizenship becomes a valued part of a school’s curriculum. Arguably, the most successful programmes of citizenship seen during this study were those where the teachers were ensuring that pupils were involved in their learning at every level. Once pupils were given some responsibility for their assessment, this seemed to make them take the subject more seriously.

This section has answered the research questions, but there are further issues which emerged from the research and these are developed in the next section.

9.2. Discussing the issues

Where do policy and practice overlap within the assessment of citizenship?

The assessment of the curriculum is based upon a structure that was not clearly identified or outlined in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998); it was left to the Department for Education and Employment (1999) and QCA (2000) to construct an appropriate framework. The structure of the curriculum for citizenship is similar to that of the other National Curriculum foundation subjects. It comprises a programme of study and learning outcomes, but it differs because assessment of pupil achievement is currently made by measuring with a single attainment target at the end of key stages 3 and 4 rather than the eight attainment levels used for all other subjects⁴³. Citizenship appears to be a well-defined subject, but there are fundamental problems with assessment and I propose that what is actually happening in schools could be aptly described as a ‘free for all’ approach to delivery which is in danger of undermining the status of the subject.

Official guidelines (QCA, 2005) require teachers to assess and report pupils’ progress at the end of key stage 3 and, in the interviews, all schools except one (school N), explained that they had assessed pupils according to the requirements and most carried on with this practice through to the end of key stage 4. However, it is up to the individual schools how these assessments are delivered and therein lies a significant disparity because each school has a different method of assessing pupil progress. As we saw in Chapter 7, different combinations of summative and formative techniques were employed by teachers demonstrating that there is *no* parity in assessment between schools. Some might argue that this does not matter, but I propose that this *laissez faire* approach to assessment might cause several problems:

First, if a pupil moves school during her secondary years, how will the new school know her ability in citizenship if the system used to award her a grade from the previous school is not comparable with the system used in her new school? For example, if a pupil usually achieves a level 7 in most of her subjects, then the same type of measure should be available for citizenship so that her achievements are acknowledged in all subjects.

Second, the end of key stage results for citizenship need to be considered. At present the results are not collected for inclusion in national education statistics. However, it is likely that this will change and when it does, schools deserve to be reassured that when their citizenship results are reviewed they are based on assessments and outcomes which are nationally comparable. It is difficult to see how the QCA or other policy making bodies could possibly make reliable decisions about schools' achievements in citizenship based upon the present system. We know from the literature (see Baird *et al*, 2004; Suto and Greatorex, 2005) that judgements made by examiners are a highly subjective endeavour and they only become more so if a subject does not have a standardised and widely-used method for assessment. Thus, ensuring assessment parity on a national level is critical to the subject's future.

Third, it is recognised that assessment is a critically important part of the teaching and learning process (Wragg, 2001; Black *et al*, 2005; Stobart, 2005). If it remains unregulated and 'light touch' (QCA, 2001) within the curriculum for citizenship, then the entire learning process is undermined. In a subtle way, the very open practice applied to assessment of citizenship weakens the subject's value because a continued 'free for all' approach suggests that its assessment 'does not really matter'. It is important to clarify the role and context of assessments because subjects with a loose examination structure are perceived as less important (Harlen, 2004; Lord and Jones, 2006).

A further blow to the status of citizenship is struck in the reporting of achievement to parents; again, the matter of status is crucial and it relates to both assessment *and* subject delivery. Pupils described how their parents were either ambivalent about the subject (see Chapter 6, page 223) or did not consider it to be of importance, usually because they did not know what it was. This lack of understanding is not simply because the pupils' parents did not study citizenship themselves; rather it reflects the continued difficulty experienced with defining the term. The problem of agreeing just what is meant by citizenship is central to the discussion within Chapter 2 (see page 22); essentially, the only consensus which can be reached regarding its definition, is that it is difficult to define (McLaughlin, 1999, 2000; Turner, 1994; Low, 1997; Gearon, 2003a; Osler and Starkey, 2006).

As was found in this research and has been seen in other studies (see for example Kerr *et al*, 2007), it is common, particularly for teachers with Inheritor characteristics (see Chapter 7, page 258), to deliver citizenship with PSHE or Religious Education and provide one, overarching mark for pupils' work. Whilst there is nothing intrinsically wrong with doing this, it misleads parents, or as we saw in Chapter 7 (page 253), means that they become dismissive of the subject, or are suspicious of its value. This is problematical for the subject. The DfES (2004) claims that citizenship is about empowerment, but combining citizenship with other subjects means that it becomes diluted and is drained of authority.

Concern about the pairing of citizenship with PSHE and/or RE was expressed both by OFSTED (2006) and in the recent *Report to the Commons Select Committee for Citizenship* (2007) which claimed that evidence shows "Schools do best when they see citizenship as a separate subject" (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2007:76). In particular, the link with PSHE which is forged in primary education needs to be severed; the NfER study (Kerr *et al*, 2007) argues that the goals of the two subjects are not identical and that they should be

disaggregated. In this research project it was in the schools where citizenship was delivered with PSHE that I found pupils who had a poorer understanding of citizenship. This is exemplified in Chapter 6 when pupils discussed lesson delivery and talked about tests relating to, amongst other topics: religious ceremonies, drugs information projects and careers portfolios, *all* of which they called ‘citizenship’.

It seems that the status of any subject is dependent upon several things: curriculum content, classroom delivery and methods of assessment. Citizenship still lacks consistency on two of these three criteria; the content is made plain in the curriculum booklets, but delivery and assessment are less prescribed. Where this is the case, citizenship will struggle to command the respect it arguably deserves.

The GCSE debate

Central to this research was the decision made by individual schools as to whether to offer a GCSE specification or not. As we saw in the Chapter 1, it was the content and framework of the GCSE which led me to question the value of assessing citizenship and subsequently if it is assessed, how it may be assessed in a valid and appropriate manner. Amongst the awarding bodies, GCSE citizenship is a fast-growing qualification (see Chapter 3, page 66), but schools participating in this study were cautious about its use and their reticence was due to several issues which are discussed here.

The number of schools offering a GCSE in citizenship is growing, but the numbers are still relatively modest when compared to other foundation subjects⁴⁴. In this study, 29% of schools in the questionnaire survey and seven of the eighteen interview schools (38%) offered a GCSE and of those, five had chosen to make it a compulsory subject. It is these five schools which are interesting in terms of a wider debate about: (a) the use of assessments as a form of motivation

(Harlen, 2004; Remedios *et al*, 2005); and (b) the use of citizenship lessons as a way of attempting to create a more cohesive school community (Cunningham, 2000; Keast, 2003).

In the interviews with the seven schools offering a GCSE, four of the teachers explained that their school had chosen a compulsory route because the school had, in the recent past, experienced difficulties with pupil achievement. Teachers in the remaining schools alluded to problems with behaviour, deprivation and school performance in the league tables (one school had just come out of Special Measures). In these four schools, the teachers and their Senior Management Teams believed that a GCSE would make citizenship appear more valuable to their pupils. Teachers in these schools were very keen for pupils to get as much as they could out of citizenship and to fully engage with the subject; the only way they felt this could be achieved was by ensuring that a qualification was offered at the end of the course of study. To the casual observer, this might appear to be an unnecessary form of bribery because we might hope that pupils would have a burning desire to study the subject. But we have to concede that qualifications, particularly those with currency, are what the majority of pupils are looking for by key stages 3 and 4 (Harland, 2004; Weeden, 2005). And, perhaps most crucially, this approach seems to work because the teachers felt that having citizenship as a timetabled lesson coupled with a qualification gave it prominence and made pupils aware of its contribution to their education. There was nothing cynical in the four teachers' attitudes to the delivery of citizenship; rather their perceptions could be comfortably aligned with Halstead and Pike's (2006) aims of an effective education for citizenship: the creation of reflective and autonomous individuals. Nevertheless, they approach the matter of promoting citizenship education in a pragmatic way by using the GCSE as a lever for improved pupil achievement and as a way of promoting the value of the subject.

In contrast, the grammar school (Q) which offered the GCSE did so because qualifications underpin the ethos of the school. This is not to say that the grammar school teachers were results-

led in their attitude to the subject; rather, they had no say in the matter as the decision regarding the compulsory nature of GCSEs was made by their Senior Management Team. Their commitment and enthusiasm about citizenship were evident throughout the interview, but they were guided by the school's commitment to maintaining and improving an already high profile of results.

Considering the rationale for assessing citizenship

The citizenship curriculum is expected to:

Give pupils the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an effective role in society at local, national and international levels. To become informed and responsible, and to be respectful and reflective (DfES, 1999:12).

Without a substantial underpinning of attainment targets which give citizenship parity with other subjects, it becomes a weak member of the National Curriculum team. The structure of the National Curriculum is content-based with what Lawton and Chitty (1988) describe as a strong emphasis placed upon a framework of testing and assessment, or what Myers (2007) calls an outcomes-based approach and, perhaps inevitably, the emphasis upon assessment has led to criticism (Bramhall and White, 2000). As we have already established, the policy dictates that citizenship, like all other National Curriculum subjects, must be assessed at the end of key stage 3; it is now the 'system' and is expected by teachers and pupils alike. The schools which took part in this study generally agreed with this policy because they are used to following the guidelines and believe assessment to be of value. The reaction of the pupils is important here because, as this (see pages 209) and other research studies show (see Massey *et al*, 2003; Lord & Jones, 2006), they *want* to be tested; they are 'grade-hungry' and believe examinations to be a good thing. The value of using a GCSE to raise the status of citizenship has already been established both in the literature chapters and in this chapter, but I also believe that using a GCSE specification removes the need for teachers to make decisions about curriculum delivery at key stage 4. A specification comprises a whole package of teaching and learning which the pupils follow in preparation for

the examinations at the end of the course. To many teachers, particularly those with an Inheritor-orientation (see Chapter 7, page 258), this means that a significant amount of the guesswork is taken out of delivering citizenship. The only important decision to be made here is the *choice of awarding body*. All three awarding bodies⁴⁵ currently offer similarly constructed specifications (described in Chapter 3), but we may presume that teachers will review these and make a decision based upon their own preferences and a specification which they believe suits their pupils.

In contrast, those teachers who do not plan to use a GCSE claim it is because they want pupils to appreciate the subject for itself and for it to be a less demanding subject, not in terms of content, but because they are not aiming for a qualification at the end of the course of study. Such attitudes are significant because they suggest a backlash against the ‘normal’ routine of testing and continuous assessment which is an embedded part of all state-maintained schools. Teachers who hold this view are perhaps demonstrating a public resistance to over-testing and view the ‘no-assessment’ approach as a means of protecting their pupils. Chapter 3 discussed the concerns which schools voice regarding the over-testing of their pupils and the negative impact that this has on pupil motivation and performance (James, 2000; Wragg, 2001). This is a significant issue for teachers and particularly those in my research who had a strong Innovator orientation (see Chapter 7, page 260) and were concerned about the persistent focus on the collecting of qualifications as an ‘aim’ of education. Other teachers seemed genuinely to believe that citizenship was not ‘assessable’ and that trying to do so reduces its value.

Selling citizenship through its assessments

Research in England by Deakin-Crick *et al* (2004) has demonstrated that citizenship education improves the academic performance of pupils because, if delivered appropriately, it cultivates a culture of co-operative learning. But the review of the literature (Chapters 2 & 3) and the interviews conducted with teachers (Chapter 7), have established that citizenship is not clearly

understood as a subject and consequently, the ways in which it is assessed appear to be directly affected by the teacher's understanding and competence. Thus, when it came to choosing and delivering assessments, the confident teachers tended to use a range of modes (both formative and summative) for assessing their pupils and were more likely to exhibit dynamic, Specialist characteristics (see Chapter 7, page 259). In contrast, their less confident, Inheritor-type counterparts (page 258) tended to use a narrower framework comprising a large number of summative assessment techniques.

When it comes to actually choosing and applying different modes of assessment, the policy documentation (QCA, 2000) advises that schools should choose what they feel is appropriate for their pupils and the topics they have been studying. The schools themselves have numerous decisions to make: the type of assessment that they will use (e.g. written tests or portfolios); how these might be administered (e.g. teacher-assessed, peer-assessed); and the decision about the use (or not) of a nationally recognised qualification. This reflects the 'light touch' attitude to citizenship on the part of policy makers and places responsibility firmly in the hands of teachers. However, I would argue that if policy makers are aiming to 'sell' citizenship to schools, they need to offer improved training so that teachers are more confident assessment users. As we saw in Chapter 3, the validity of assessment is dependent upon its fitness for purpose and quality of delivery (Desforges, 2002); that is, pupils and teachers should be aware of the value of what is being assessed and the outcomes of that assessment.

The comprehensive *Making Sense of Citizenship: Handbook for CPD* by Huddleston and Kerr (2006) offers teachers an excellent source of guidance for extending their assessments and encouraging pupils to engage with the subject, but there was little evidence of such animated approaches to assessment in the schools I visited. However, I do not believe that schools are to blame for this; they are constrained by the lack of appropriate training and by the small amount of

timetable allocated to citizenship (usually one lesson each week). Similar catalogues of deficits were discussed in Chapter 3. QCA (2004) acknowledged that there is a problem with the assessment of citizenship and the issues have been raised in both EPPI Reports (Deakin-Crick, 2004; Harlen, 2005); discussed further within the context of teaching practice (Leighton, 2006); and have been underlined by the findings of Kerr *et al* (2007). It is all very well to suggest that they use a mixture of assessments such as multiple-choice tests, a debate and a coursework portfolio, but as this research has found, the management, delivery, resourcing and storage for these items are all problematical (see page 242).

The new GCE A level qualification⁴⁶ was recently unveiled by AQA and this was hailed as an important step forward in terms of raising the profile of the subject. The keynote speaker at AQA's launch event⁴⁷ was Sir Keith Ajegbo. He claimed that "An A level gives citizenship status" and this sentiment was echoed throughout the day by the other speakers representing the DfES, AQA and QCA. However, this public declaration acknowledges that status is something which citizenship currently lacks and confirms the findings of this research – the status of subjects rests on a foundation which is partly composed of assessment. Once some kind of accreditation is attached to the subject, then it might be afforded status, but until that happens it will not be taken as seriously as other subjects. The 'value' of examinations is an annual debate (Newton, 2005) and the introduction of a new raft of post-16 qualifications together with the increasing popularity of the International Baccalaureate means that their future remains uncertain. Therefore, it is not safe for awarding bodies to assume that an A level in citizenship will necessarily be welcomed.

It is arguable that the proposed A-level specification revealed, not a dynamic assessment, but a missed opportunity. The specification comprised four modules, all externally assessed pieces of writing (AQA, 2007a). There was no indication of a broad range of assessment techniques to be

employed, just more written work based on knowledge and understanding. Awarding body staff who briefed delegates at the A level launch, admitted that oral presentations and filmed or recorded presentations of pupils' work would not be suitable evidence; instead pupils would be expected to create a diary and written accounts of any active work they undertook. This is what would be submitted to the examiners. It seems that the one awarding body that has been brave enough to create an A-level (neither Edexcel or OCR have announced plans for a GCE A level) has been constrained by QCA and now plans to offer a specification which does not assess the dynamic and active elements of citizenship in a dynamic or active way.

A further issue which relates to nationally recognised qualifications is the fact that citizenship is the *only* foundation subject which does not, as yet, have a full GCSE⁴⁸ option available from the awarding bodies. As we saw in Chapter 7, some schools explained that they offered it with another short course, usually RE, so that pupils can have a 'full' GCSE by combining the two. This seems very unsatisfactory because as the comments from pupils show (see page 214-215), short course qualifications are viewed as the poor relation to the full course. This is yet another aspect of the policy decisions made about citizenship that fail to fully consider how the structure of assessments will affect the overall perception of the subject.

I have one final comment regarding the impact of the GCSE specification. Policy makers seem to lack confidence in recommending interesting and challenging assessments, but it is apparent from the research that pupils do *not*. If we return to Chapter 6 (pages 212-213) we see that pupils question the appropriateness of written methods as a dominant means of assessing citizenship and are able to suggest a range of other methods which they deem appropriate. They believe (as I do) that a film of a debate could be a part of the evidence submitted for assessment and they claim that this allows all pupils an equal chance to excel in citizenship. Teachers often expressed frustration that their 'best' pupils in citizenship did not achieve well on paper, but shone when

taking part in a debate. I would argue that there is a need for an overhaul of the GCSE and the specification should include a filmed debate or oral presentation. Opponents might argue that this cannot be effectively assessed; however, subjects such as drama or expressive arts all include practical elements which are graded and moderated by examiners. I have grade awarded such subjects myself and believe that the active element of citizenship lends itself to such techniques. There will be, as in all assessment, a measure of error which is a part of what is a largely subjective process, but as was discussed on page 88 of Chapter 3, understanding that error and acknowledging the limitations of different types of assessment is crucial to successful delivery (Newton, 2005).

It is interesting that what underpins the curriculum for citizenship is a claim of diversity and innovation (Ajegbo, 2007), yet this does not extend to the types of assessment that are deemed appropriate for specifications which comprise a qualification. Without significant changes being made to the GCSE (and possibly the GCE) specifications for citizenship, it is likely we will continue to find (as this study does) that pupils do not believe it to be a subject which is comparable to other foundation subjects.

Is there any value in citizenship education?

This research found the general perception of the value of citizenship as a subject to be positive. All of the teachers in the interview study believed this to be true except one; he did not actually say he was against citizenship *per se*; rather that the National Curriculum model of citizenship did not fit in with the results-led focus of his school (see page 250). Some teachers expressed Innovator-orientated views in their discussions about the value of the subject on a wider scale; they wanted the scope of the subject to extend well beyond the confines of the school and were keen to emphasise societal impact and reinforcement of applicable citizenship skills for their pupils. In contrast, the pupils are fuelled by their understanding of how school makes them

players in a market economy and therefore the subjects that they choose to study for a qualification have to be useful to them in the job market (pages 220).

Whilst the overarching themes of citizenship are meant to focus upon a broad context of society, co-operation, rights, tolerance and understanding, the majority of pupils are more interested in ‘what they get out of it’ or how the subject will be of use to them at a later date. Their interest was fixed on two areas:

- Knowledge about legal rights.
- The validity of citizenship assessments in a practical context.

The discussions during interviews (see Chapter 6) suggest that pupils prefer subjects which they deem to be useful. For example, pupils were keen to explain that learning about their rights would be of use should they ever ‘get in trouble’ or need to get to legal help. Affording a young person with such information is beneficial because not only does it allow them to understand that they have specific rights, but it provides empowerment by ensuring that their status as an individual is legally recognised. However, whilst legal rights were deemed important, they were definitely not as significant as the value of assessments; it is external currency which pupils wanted to see in their assessments. Pupils are hard task masters. They ask questions such as: “Will it get me a job?”, “Will it help me when I apply to university or college?” or “Is it useful for certain careers?” Such questions reflect contemporary attitudes to the aims of education which have evolved from the major changes in education witnessed from the 1980s onwards which claimed that education should be responding to market forces (Chitty, 2004). The pupils’ questions regarding the currency of citizenship are ones which policy makers need to address because it is the pupils’ attitudes that will either ‘make or break’ the success of citizenship. Whilst it is not yet possible to judge the extent to which citizenship is having an effect upon young people (House of Commons Select Committee, 2007), it continues to be important that schools are given every opportunity to make their pupils’ experiences of citizenship as positive as possible.

The careers to which citizenship was linked were striking and pupils discussed how they might apply a GCSE or other qualification (Chapter 6, page 219). Pupils tended to focus upon the legal or caring professions and whilst a few were able to translate their learning into everyday aspects of life, they were the exception. Citizenship was still viewed by the majority as just another subject. These beliefs speak volumes about how pupils perceive the subject and are something which should be of concern to policy makers. The pupils' comments resonate with a narrow, work-focused perspective of the subject. The links to particular jobs, for example, care workers, charity workers or lawyers, identify citizenship as the 'subject about being good'; they do not demonstrate understanding of how citizenship is supposed to permeate all aspects of one's life. As the excerpts from interviews with pupils demonstrated (see pages 218-19) some of them do not believe citizenship to be valuable outside of the workplace. And, as was demonstrated in Chapter 3 on page 82, such work-focused attitudes are indicative of what MacDonald and Brooker (1999) describe as the outcomes of schooling being closely linked to pupils' perceptions of life opportunities. This is problematical because pupils are studying citizenship as a subject in school; therefore they are constrained by that perception. Citizenship is something they attend to for a limited amount of time each week and something which upon leaving school, they will leave behind.

In some schools it would be apt to describe citizenship as the 'nothing' subject; it is perceived as the subject where 'you don't have to really try', the 'laid back and relaxed one' (see pages 204-205) and such attitudes do not suggest dynamism or enthusiasm about pursuing citizenship as a goal. Again, this should be of deep concern because if the aims of citizenship education are to foster political understanding, to create a cohesive society and to help young people take part in developing such ideals, then they cannot afford to be complacent or 'relaxed' in their attitudes to achieving such ends. The question of national identity, of Britishness, remains high on the citizenship agenda (Bragg, 2006), but if discussions about such important issues are raised in classrooms where pupils are 'not trying', there is limited scope for a successful and useful debate.

However, in some of the schools participating in the study, citizenship is taught in a motivating and vibrant manner so that pupils are keen to participate and fully appreciate the value of the subject. It was here that I witnessed pupils really engaging with what citizenship means; they discussed issues such as identity, community and their place within society (see Chapter 6, pages 202-203). It was these pupils who were grasping the ethos and meaning of citizenship and were valuing it as something more than a subject.

9.3. Summary of the chapter

This chapter outlined and discussed the issues which are central to this research and the contributions which the results can make to both policy and the wider knowledge of the citizenship curriculum. Assessment is both central to teaching and learning *and* the successful development of citizenship in English secondary schools. However, the ways in which it is delivered appear to be having a negative effect upon the subject. Teachers would like to use a wider range of assessment techniques but are often prevented from doing so by lack of training and resources. Pupils too, would like to see different approaches used, but still regard summative methods which result in a grade as most popular. Full engagement requires involvement and participation (McLaughlin, 1999; 2000) so it makes sense that schools be encouraged to nurture this ethos through all aspects of curriculum delivery including the ways in which pupils' achievements are judged and reported. The current 'deficit' in assessment and the confusion about the 'real' meaning of citizenship are making its delivery problematical and having a negative impact upon the subject's status.

Teachers require further training to enable them to engage in a range of assessment techniques appropriate for citizenship. The option to use a recognised qualification (such as a GCSE or GCE specification) should be available, but this needs careful consideration so that teachers are not tempted to use it as a means of making delivery easier, rather than choosing to do it as a positive contribution to pupils' learning. The effects of assessment deficit are wide-ranging and are

evident in the ways pupils discussed how they value citizenship based upon their perception of achievement in the subject. Whilst the majority of participants in the study were generally positive about their experiences of citizenship, it seems that there is still a need for further development of assessment practice in order to ensure that the subject remains an accepted part of the curriculum.

In the next chapter, I summarise the key findings of the research and discuss the implications for practice, recommendations and ideas for further research.

CHAPTER 10. CONCLUSION

According to Silverman (2003:253), there is a temptation to “let go” in the final section of the thesis. The questions have been presented and discussed; the data collected and analysed and the results discussed, but there is a need to draw the whole work together and discuss its conclusions. Silverman likens this to the end of a classical symphony where the final movement revisits earlier themes and develops them further. Therefore, this chapter begins with a summary of the key findings from the research. However, the concluding chapter is also an opportunity to discuss aspects of the research which were found to be particularly thought-provoking for the researcher and to consider where the research might be extended or taken further. Like any research project, this one has had its share of successes and problems and this chapter is also the place for reflection upon aspects of the research which might have been approached in a different way was I beginning the process again.

Before embarking upon this research, my attitude to citizenship, in the context of the Ideal Types (see Chapter 7), could be described that of an Innovator. Spurred on by a personal commitment to education for social justice and a keen advocate of citizenship, I hoped that an exciting statutory curriculum would mean pupils were equally as excited about their lessons. Nevertheless, I was not convinced that the subject could, or indeed should be assessed. Such doubts were conceived during the work described in Chapter 1 - the experiences of awarding GCSEs. I was further concerned at the growing anxiety about over-testing (James, 2000) and its tendency to make teaching stale and formulaic (Wragg, 2001). It is unsurprising then, that the time spent conducting this research has been both illuminating and confusing, and at times frustrating.

10.1 Key findings

Some of the schools which participated in the study are delivering citizenship to a very high standard: evidence of enthusiasm on the part of teachers and pupils was apparent in most and the

determination of teachers to deliver a well-constructed curriculum was evident. Conversely, in the minority of schools, teachers were not always positive about the subject and consequently pupils had little interest in what they were learning. There were some common features of schools where the enthusiasm for the subject was low: teachers were often poorly trained and were usually Inheritors of the subject; there was a lack of commitment or interest on the part of the school's Senior Management Team; and the subject was delivered through tutor time or in a cross-curricular mode. It would appear that using a discrete mode of delivery is more successful for the ways in which pupils perceive citizenship. In schools where the subject was not delivered as a discrete lesson, it was common to find that pupils did not appear to value citizenship. However, I also found that assessment can help to 'make or break' pupils' commitment to the subject and therefore keeping an open mind about its delivery is essential.

A wider use of different modes of assessment could be employed not only in citizenship, but across all curriculum subjects. Therefore, it is with some frustration that the research has revealed a restricted use of techniques and found that teachers often lack confidence to experiment or are prevented from doing so by lack of training, resources, curriculum structure and (in a minority of cases) by their managers. A shift in assessment ideology is required; teachers should be encouraged to reframe their perception of assessment from the 'test is best' model to 'the most valid in a given situation is best'. If teachers can enable pupils to gain a richer understanding of their learning through formative techniques, then it is possible for pupils to extend their learning and to be able to see how their achievements are applicable to a range of contexts beyond school.

Some of the analyses have shown differences between policy recommendations and the practices conducted by teachers in the classroom. Due to the "light touch" (QCA, 2001) construction of the curriculum, teachers are free to interpret the curriculum to suit their school and their pupils, but as the analyses indicated, this is not as successful an approach as one might expect. Some of the

reasons for this lack of success are presented in the next group of findings under specific headings.

Assessment for Learning

Teachers are not always able to assess citizenship effectively and creatively. I have argued that there is ample evidence to suggest how important assessment is for learning and so too are the ways in which assessments are conducted. Curriculum guidance and the key websites (QCA and DfES) emphasise the use of assessment *for* learning and the research which underpins these theories (Black and Wiliam, 1998; Black *et al*, 2005) present compelling evidence for its use. However, the reality in schools is a lack of time, training and resources. Citizenship is usually given about 2% - 5% (approximately 1 hour) of lesson time each week in the schools which took part in this study and teachers need more time to build up an effective framework which assesses learning. If citizenship continues to be allocated tutor time or an alternative 'non-academic' slot in the school day, this strengthens the notion that it is less valuable; add on a weak assessment and you have a demonstrably unimportant subject. A continuation of such practices will only serve to keep the status of citizenship at a low level and reinforce a culture of it being a 'less-important' part of the curriculum.

As we saw in Chapter 3, the use of more formative assessments requires some teachers to effect a shift in their personal pedagogy. I should stress that an increased use of formative assessment should not mean an end to summative tests because, as this and other research has found, pupils like grades/marks and some actively enjoy being tested in a summative way (Richardson *et al*, 2002; Smith and Gorard, 2004). Nevertheless, citizenship is unlike other subjects and, due to the significant practical elements contained within the curriculum, it requires and its pupils deserve, more than knowledge-based testing alone. Therefore, the allocation of timetable time needs to be increased if schools are to use a combination of both assessment *of* learning and assessment *for*

learning methods to assess citizenship and increased timetable space will make the subject ‘visible’ and valuable.

As pupils and teachers both suggested during interviews, more trained teachers in citizenship would help to reduce the present deficits in both teaching and assessment of the subject. Specialists in citizenship bring status and expertise that cannot always be developed by teachers who are experts in another subject area. This is not to say that non-specialist teachers always do a bad job at teaching citizenship; rather that the subject *deserves* experts because they are more able to develop the subject within school curricula. Teachers with a PGCE in citizenship who were interviewed for this study exuded a level of confidence and competence which was not always evident in their peers.

An end to half measures

A full course GCSE is to be introduced in the next year and this is likely to have two significant effects on citizenship: first, as we saw in Chapter 3 and in the results presented in Chapter 6, pupils can be disparaging about short course GCSEs because they are perceived as a ‘half measure’; thus, when they are offered as an option, pupils do not choose them unless they are very keen on the subject. Second, a full course would, so to speak, ‘put citizenship on the education map’ – it would elevate its status to that of the other foundation subjects.

It is very telling that for all the media debate about high-stakes examinations, citizenship is a subject that remains largely unmentioned⁴⁹ and I believe that this is because short courses do not register on the news media’s results radar; they are not important enough to warrant comment. One final note regarding this is in relation to the newly proposed GCE A level (see, AQA, 2007a); pupils need to have a full-course option to prepare them for an A level course of study. There is a progression from GCSE courses to GCE courses and if, as it seems at present, pupils

are not considering the short course as a viable option, it is unlikely that the GCE will prove to be a popular choice in post-16 education.

A stand alone subject

The findings of this research support the claims of others (see, for example, Warwick *et al*, 2004), when they state that it is not helpful for citizenship to be linked to other subjects – particularly RE, PSHE and Careers-based learning. A consistent feature of the literature and from within schools in this study, is that the purpose and meaning of citizenship are contested; therefore it is perplexing that the subject should be taught in any way other than as a discrete entity. There was evidence in the findings which suggests that teachers do not see the distinction between citizenship and PSHE at secondary level and thus, pupils continue to view citizenship as a ‘part’ of another subject. Schools need to ensure they are not allowing pupils to believe citizenship to be a part of RE or PSHE or General Studies. The strength of citizenship is dependent upon the use of the curriculum as scaffolding rather than a cage with which to constrain what is perceived to be a difficult subject (Deakin-Crick, 2004).

Re-structuring the key stage assessments

The assessment structure at the end of key stage 3 is extremely problematical. It should be revised so that there are eight attainment levels which are comparable with the attainment levels for other foundation subjects. In addition, there needs to be some kind of formalised assessment at the end of key stage 4. I have argued for parity in assessment of citizenship so that it is comparable with the other foundation subjects because there is nothing fair about making the subject statutory to the age of 16, but not rewarding effort. Citizenship needs to be perceived as a significant subject by policy makers, by teachers *and* by pupils; it should be the subject that everyone engages with and that everyone sees as inherently valuable not just in school, but as a life skill.

10.2. Further research

There are three areas where I would like to extend this research: to conduct research with parents, to attempt the construction of Ideal Type pupils and to investigate the links between citizenship and future employment.

Interviews with parents

The dialogue with teachers and pupils regarding parental involvement and interest was enlightening. The perceptions of assessment could be extended further by involving parents in a piece of interview research and asking them about their understanding of citizenship and their opinions about assessment of the subject for their children. Such a study would extend knowledge and understanding about education for citizenship; the subject is about developing an ethos of community and of understanding what it means to be a citizen; therefore it is important that parents understand what the subject means for their child and for them.

Ideal type pupils

Chapter 7 presented Ideal Type teachers and their attitudes towards assessment and pupils' perceptions of citizenship. The types provided a richer understanding of the complex relationships that teachers have with the delivery of citizenship and, by asking former interviewees to evaluate the types, I was able to construct a more detailed picture of their perceptions and beliefs. I would like to do that same with pupils and see, if by creating ideal type pupils, it is possible to deepen my understanding of the ways in which they perceive and value their assessments of citizenship.

Assessments and employment

Pupils were very keen to discuss how their assessments in citizenship might be useful in the workplace and as we saw in Chapter 6, they aligned their achievements to particular sectors of the

workplace. Citizenship is still a 'new' subject and it would be useful to conduct some further research to see if the employers that pupils mentioned are particularly interested in potential employees having a qualification or experience of citizenship. It would be helpful to know what employers understand of citizenship in schools and what aspects they consider to be of value. Such knowledge might help assessment creators to develop assessments which are relevant and have a currency with employers. In addition, the value of citizenship in higher or further education could be considered. Only two pupils mentioned highlighting the subject in a UCAS (or similar) application form and it would be helpful to know whether admissions officers/course convenors etc. value the subject. Pupils argue that it shows they are well-rounded, can 'get on' with others and know about the world, but employers and admissions staff might not see it in quite the same way.

10.3. Reflecting on the study

It is easy in hindsight to be overly critical of a piece of research, but it is important to reflect upon the whole process in order to see what might have been different had I approached the study in an alternative way, to consider how the process has developed me as a researcher and thus, how it might influence any future work. In this section I consider the method of data collection, acknowledge the shortcomings of my research and discuss the problems encountered whilst attempting to find ways of preventing and deflecting such issues in the future. There is no such thing as the 'perfect' thesis; I view this time to reflect and discuss as an integral part of the research process, a significant part of my research journey.

Participation and recruitment

Recruitment of schools was problematical. The use of named contacts does help to ensure that correspondence reaches the right person; however, on a number of occasions office staff did not know who was responsible for citizenship, or would not divulge a name. When it came to

recruiting interviewees, this was problematic too – at least three participants initially tried to deter me by saying “I don’t know anything about it”, or “you won’t be interested in our school”. I was not put off by such responses, but it made the initial contact with the teachers somewhat stressful and I was often made to feel that I was wasting their time. I noted a distinct difference between how teachers responded to me as a lone, PhD researcher and the ways in which similar teachers were compliant when I had previously conducted research under the auspices of an awarding body. My former employment had perhaps made me overly confident about the ease with which I would recruit interviewees and recoup questionnaires. Working alone to solve these problems was instructive.

Data Collection

Whilst I was content that the mixed-method approach to data collection was successful, there are of course other ways that data could have been collected and it is likely that these might have resulted in a different set of findings and perspectives. The study could have been given a different perspective by observing lessons, in particular those lessons where assessments were conducted, in order to observe this practice in action. Obviously, this would have been difficult in some schools because the use of assessments was very limited (or non-existent); nevertheless, this would have provided a whole-class perspective.

Providing a ‘voice’

The contribution of the participants’ voices is particularly successful in this research. It is my belief that the voice of education’s frontline users should play a part in policy development. If, as the citizenship curriculum (QCA, 2000) claims, pupils will learn to form and express opinions and to consider and debate different issues, then they should be offered opportunities to critique and comment upon their education. Teachers who participated in this research appreciated the opportunity to discuss their experiences and to comment upon current policy in citizenship.

Transcription

Conducting transcription is very personal undertaking. In the course of this research, I conducted 18 interviews with teachers and 29 with pupils, all of which had to be transcribed. I could have paid to have this done, but decided to do it myself so that I became immersed in the data. This was not problematical in itself, but the volume of the task was particularly difficult to deal with. Rather than transcribing as I did each interview, I decided to make notes and write a brief report after each interview and undertake the transcription once all of the interviews had been completed. This took some seven weeks, was extremely tiring and not a method that could be recommended. I was indeed 'immersed' in the data, but maintaining a suitable level of detail and consistency in accurately transcribing was very difficult. Independent checking revealed frequent errors and I spent a great deal of time re-reading and editing the hard copy transcriptions. On a positive note, I claim to know my data to the finest detail and have a clear picture of every interviewee still in my mind, but this process could have been less onerous had I conducted it in a less intensive way.

Ideal Types

The creation of Ideal Type teachers evolved during the discussion of the results from the empirical study. This enhanced my understanding of how different teachers decided to conduct their citizenship teaching and assessment and the comments I received from participants about the profile of types was most illuminating. This method was new to me and I would be interested to use it again in a similar setting and present the types to teachers (and/or pupils) ahead of interviews or during a focus-group as a means of facilitating a discussion about perceptions and attitudes. The types enabled me to focus on discrete aspects of behaviour and approaches and this was very useful in refining the results. It could enable teachers to consider their own practice and think about which aspects of a type or types reflect their approach and which could be developed or extended.

Assessment practice

My beliefs about assessment have altered during the course of conducting the research. Formerly, my beliefs constituted a model where certain types of assessment were more useful than others and these were most usefully applied ‘after’ teaching - I refer here to certificated assessments and high-stakes qualifications which are considered valuable currency when seeking employment or planning further/higher education. Over the course of the three years I have become more knowledgeable about the practicalities of using and applying assessments and am more able to identify the indicators of valid/good assessments as opposed to the weak/bad and ineffective.

10.4. Final remarks

This thesis has made an in-depth study of the perceptions and opinions of citizenship assessments by their primary users – teachers and pupils. It has highlighted the issues that are salient to them as well as the different strategies for teaching, delivery and interpretation of the curriculum. It is clear that there are many issues which affect both groups’ experiences of the processes involved in teaching and learning and as both are evolving practices, there are always more ways in which practice can be extended and improved.

It is hoped that the data and conclusions in this thesis will be of use to those who are involved with the teaching and assessment of citizenship. The results may offer some insights into how assessment practice can be developed and more closely directed to ensure that pupils get the most from their experiences. This area of citizenship is an evolving one and it requires careful direction so that assessments are appropriate and useful measures of achievement. Standards can be raised by changes that are put into effect by teachers and by pupils, but they have to be afforded the opportunity to make such changes.

The results of this research are positive in relation to the value of learning about citizenship, but still reflect an educational culture which tends to value only the things that can be measured and graded. If this attitude towards assessment is one which continues to prevail, then it seems that citizenship needs a more uniform framework to enable it to build and evolve in order to secure the status it deserves as a significant part of the National Curriculum.

ENDNOTES

1. The decision to use the first person throughout this thesis was not taken lightly. My experience as a researcher within the education sector was directed by a huge tome of very strict guidelines, including avoidance, at all costs, of the use of the first person in research reports. The passive voice is a professional expectation when writing for a general audience, but the case of the PhD is different. This is a unique piece of work; it reflects my ideas, my opinions and my experience of an intensely personal research journey. Therefore I have used the first person throughout because I believe it is better suited to the explanations and discussions of my research.
2. Predicted grades are usually based on the outcomes of a previous series – that is, to maintain a standard, we would expect a similar proportion of candidates to achieve at a similar level year on year. Of course there are circumstances where this might change for example: if the candidature changes significantly; if the specification (syllabus) has been radically altered; if there are a lot of very hard markers (or indeed, generous markers) in the cohort of examiners.
3. Awarding bodies use the term series to denote the year and time of year the examination is assessed, usually winter or summer.
4. Candidate entry is important because, for example, a large increase in schools either taking up a qualification or dropping a qualification can have a significant impact upon the results.
5. An AS is half a GCE A level; a GCSE short course is half a full GCSE; and an Entry Level Certificate is for pupils who are not expected to achieve a pass at GCSE.
6. Citizenship is taught in primary schools too, but it is only statutory for pupils in key stages 3 and 4. Thus, this research is focused on those two stages of education.
7. Civic Republicanism: this refers to the idea that countries which have a constitutional government or democracy are dependent upon their citizens to be active and public-spirited; individuals are expected to have collectively responsible attitudes – “demonstrated through publicly spirited citizenship” (Kymlicka, 2002:294).
8. The Report of Advisory Group for Citizenship (QCA, 1998) – this group, headed by Sir Bernard Crick, were asked to investigate the need and then structure of an education for citizenship within the National Curriculum. Their research began in November 1997 and the Crick Report was published in 1998.
9. The Citizenship Foundation (Takens-Milne, 2005) retorted swiftly, reminding Mr Howard that it was a Conservative government that had commissioned and supported the introduction of a citizenship curriculum.
10. Citizen Smith: a situation comedy which ran during the 1970s in the UK. It featured a lead character, Smith who perceived himself to be a revolutionary.
11. In 2007, the number of people immigrating to England was (for the first time in many years) higher than the number emigrating (National Office for Statistics, 2007).
12. The HPAT believe that citizenship should be abolished: they claim that “It is not a subject. It is an aspiration” (2007:12).
13. Cross-curricular themes: five themes which were non-statutory but available for teachers to use as a means of broadening the curriculum following the 1988 ERA. The theme for citizenship was supposed to encourage participation and help pupils learn about what citizenship means – the curriculum overload meant that few schools were able to adopt any of the themes (Chitty, 2004).
14. Most prominently through the writings of: H. O. Newland (1934) and the book entitled *The Model Citizen* and C. S. S. Higham’s *The Good Citizen* (1932).
15. Voter apathy was identified as central to the need for educating future citizens; Crick cited the British Election Study figures which reported that 25% of 18-24 year olds abstained from voting in

1992; by 1997 this figure had risen to 32%. Figures collated by the Office for National Statistics (2007) show that in the 2004 general election, only 59% of the adult population used their vote.

16. Participating countries included: Australia, Belgium (French), Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong (SAR), Hungary, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, United States. (<http://www.iea.nl/cived.html>)

17. Participating countries included: Austria, Belgium (all communities), Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, United Kingdom – Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Bulgaria, Romania.

18. There is compelling legal and statistical evidence which demonstrate that certain types of crime are on the increase – see Office of National Statistics: www.nationalstatistics.gov.uk

19. Critics argue that the Labour government's support of faith schools and a selective state system has in fact precipitated greater societal divides (Heater, 2001; Lawson, 2001; Faulks, 2006). Research by Parekh (2000:226) proposes that intolerance is supported by a monocultural system of education which "breeds insensitivity and racism."

20. This sentiment was echoed by a teacher who participated in the interviews conducted for this research. One claimed to have been asked to "cover the Arab-Israeli conflict and look at solutions" (Teacher K); a tall order in 40 minutes, and as she argued, somewhat unrealistic. She did not object to the subject matter; rather she was concerned that pupils would not deem it sufficiently important if they only skimmed the surface of the debates

21. This figure assumes: national tests including baseline assessments (for Reception-aged pupils), tests at 7, 11 and 14, GCSE (or similar) and GCE A level examinations.

22. In March and April of 2007, the QCA presented a consultation document of reforms to education in key stage 3 and this includes eight levels for assessment of citizenship at the end of key stage 3; this will bring this aspect of the curriculum into line with other subjects (see www.qca.org.uk). However, these changes will not come into effect until September 2008.

23. The Newcastle Commission (1851) comprised an extensive review of education in England (and overseas) to consider how current practises might be extended to include all of the populous. The results of the Commission not only aided the move to state intervention and funding for elementary education, it is also significant in terms of assessment because for the first time it was proposed that literacy and numeracy should be improved and that those improvements should be monitored.

24. The Sandon Act (1876) ordered that children receive 'efficient elementary education instruction' and children over ten years and under 14 years of age could be employed on production of a labour certificate signed by a school inspector.

25. The eleven-plus "classified" pupils and allocated them to one of the three different types of secondary schooling available under the tripartite system: Grammar, Technical and Secondary Modern. There is an extensive literature on this topic, a useful summary is provided by Chitty (2004).

26. IQ tests were developed during the 1920s and 1930s. They are problem solving tests based on verbal and mathematical reasoning (others were developed to examine creative and spatial skills), but they were and remain, criticised for being biased – this is discussed in Black (2001).

27. Four criteria were used to construct the new assessment framework: assessment would be criterion referenced; they should relate to progression; results should be formative to help meet pupil's future learning needs; and assessments should be calibrated or moderated in order to enable comparisons (TGAT Report, 1987).

28. There are numerous types of assessment (see Gipps, 1994; Black, 2001); however for the purposes of this research the focus remained upon summative and formative because these were the types discussed at length in policy documentation and by the participants of the research.
29. The idea of feedback and feed forward came from the Task Group on Assessment and Testing set up in 1987 to design the assessment systems for the National Curriculum – for a detailed description of their work see Daugherty (1995).
30. See: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/sspp/education//research/groups/assess.html>
31. The criticisms levelled at awarding bodies and QCA accused them of making the new A level format (an AS and A2 modular structure) too easy. There were in fact a number of mitigating factors which effected the change in pass rates including: the structure of the examinations which made them more accessible thus causing a larger number of pupils to pass; unlimited resitting of modules; compressed grade boundaries. These are discussed in McCaig (2003) and extensively in Tomlinson (2004).
32. Following the recommendations in Curriculum 2000, the A level examinations were restructured to become modular, thus pupils usually complete 3 modules for an AS and they can ‘add’ to this with a further 3 modules for their A2 – the AS and A2 then comprise a ‘whole’ A level.
33. Rashomon – a Japanese film in which the story of an attack on a young woman is retold by four different witnesses. Their descriptions of ‘reality’ are presented without comment or discussion, but to show the viewer how multiple perspectives of a single instance vary (Woolf, 2001).
34. I have conducted research involving data collection from large numbers of schools (in excess of 10000), however, data entry and analyses were conducted in conjunction with other researchers and with data entry support. This study was my own work and I did not have the resources to employ other people to help with data entry, analysis etc. On the recommendations of more experienced researchers, I made the decision to keep the numbers within my sample to a manageable level based upon an expectation of 30% response rates.
35. The mailing went to all but two participants because I know that since the interviews were conducted both of these teachers have left those schools.
36. Specialist schools are required to develop a particular specialist character and ethos and through that character to raise standards in their chosen specialism, and more generally across the school. This should be in partnership with their sponsors, other schools and the community at large. Schools are required to be a resource for other local schools and the community, and to disseminate good practice. There are eight specialisms: technology, languages, arts, sports, business & enterprise, engineering, science, and mathematics & computing. (The Standards Site, 2007)
37. ASDAN: A curriculum development organisation and awarding body. They offer a range of programmes and qualifications for pupils of all abilities. The curricula are learner-focused and many of their specifications include citizenship and citizenship-related subjects. Their website has a comprehensive guide to provision.
38. AQA: Assessment and Qualifications Alliance; Edex: Edexcel and OCR: Oxford and Cambridge and RSA
39. Whilst it is unusual for a pupil in year 9 to be preparing work for a GCSE examination, there are some schools where this happens. This type of capitalization of accelerated learning in key stage 3 was encouraged in the Green Paper ‘Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards’ (DfES, 2002).

40. Off-timetable days: used by schools to focus on particular issues or topics. The whole school or one year group has a day where the usual timetable is not used and they participate in classes and/or events related to one issue; also called collapsed timetable days.
41. Two week timetable – some schools offer a split timetable with weeks A and B; core subjects are taught on both weeks whereas other subjects only feature once every two weeks.
42. Special Measures. The term applied following an OFSTED inspection when a school is failing to provide an acceptable standard of education and the persons responsible for leading, managing or governing the school are not demonstrating the capacity to secure the necessary improvement in the school. All judgements are personally authorised by HCMI or an HMI authorised by him. The definition was revised by the Education Act 2005.
43. As noted earlier, the curriculum for citizenship has been a part of the 2007 Curriculum Reform and from 2008 there will be eight attainment levels introduced for teachers to use with end of key stage 3 assessments – details are available online from URL: www.qca.org.uk
44. For example, AQA's candidate entry (June 2006) = 13,267 for Citizenship Studies; 21,986 for Information and Computer Technology; 57,886 for Religious Education. (http://www.aqa.org.uk/over/stat_pdf/AQA-PROV-6J06-GCSE-SC.PDF). Similar differences in entry figures can be found at Edexcel and OCR.
45. Assessment and Qualifications Alliance, Edexcel and the Oxford, Cambridge and RSA: three unitary awarding bodies which offer a GCSE in citizenship.
46. The qualification is subject to approval from QCA and will be ready for first teaching from September 2008. Details are available online from: www.aqa.org.uk/citizenship
47. A launch by AQA for potential users of GCE citizenship. Monday 25th June, 2007 – British Council, London.
48. Plans for GCSE specifications have been proposed by OCR and AQA, but there are no launch dates available.
49. A review of all the broadsheet newspapers in August 2007 (15 – 26th) revealed no mention of citizenship.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TECHNICAL TERMS

AST	Advanced Skills Teacher
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DfES	Department for Education and Skills (now DCSF)
ELC	Entry Level Certificate
GCE	General Certificate in Education: Advanced Level
GCSE	General Certificate in Secondary Education
INSET	In-Service Education and Training (specifically for teachers)
LA	Local Authority (formerly Local Education Authority)
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education (English School inspections agency)
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
PSE	Personal and Social Education
PSHE	Personal, Social and Health Education
PSHCE	Personal, Social, Health and Citizenship Education
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
SMT	Senior Management Team
GCSE (SC)	General Certificate in Secondary Education - Short Course
GCE (AS)	General Certificate in Education – Advanced Subsidiary level
GCE (A2)	General Certificate in Education – Advanced level
SOW	Schemes of work
AfL	Assessment for Learning
RoA	Records of Achievement
AQA	Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (awarding body, formerly examination board)
OCR	Oxford and Cambridge and RSA Examinations (awarding body, see note with AQA)
Edexcel	Edexcel Awarding (awarding body, see note with AQA)

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APPENDIX A: LEARNING OUTCOMES (QCA, 1998)

The learning outcomes for Key Stages 3 and 4

6.13 Key Stage 3

6.13.1 Skills and Aptitudes

By the end of Key Stage 3, pupils should be able to:

- express and justify, orally and in writing, a personal opinion relevant to an issue;
- contribute to small group and class discussions on matters of personal and general significance and present the outcome to a class;
- work with others to meet a challenge of shared significance through negotiation, accommodation and agreed action, and be able to reflect on the process;
- use imagination when considering the experience of others and be able to role-play, express plausibly and reflect on viewpoints contrary to their own;
- analyse, discuss and reflect on significant issues and events encountered within a community;
- garner information about an issue from a range of sources including TV and radio news, documentary footage, newspapers and new communications technologies with some understanding of the different roles these sources play;
- demonstrate an understanding of the use of statistics;
- take part in informal debates and have opportunities to vote on issues.

6.13.2 Knowledge and Understanding

By the end of Key Stage 3, pupils should:

- understand the significant aspects of topical and contemporary issues and events;
- understand, at a basic level, the legal rights and responsibilities of young people with particular reference to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, particularly the right to be heard; understand the general nature of legal aspects and responsibilities of other citizens, including consumer law, employment law, discrimination law, age-related laws and the laws relating to drugs and relationships; also understand the meaning of terms such as discrimination, equal opportunities, tribunal, ballot, trade unions;
- understand the rights and responsibilities underpinning a democratic society, with particular reference to the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR); be aware of issues surrounding rights such as freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest; know about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and why it was

developed; also understand the meaning of terms such as prejudice, xenophobia, discrimination, pluralism;

- know about aspects of the criminal justice system, including the role of the police and how a criminal trial works; also understand the meaning of terms such as court, judge, magistrate, jury, witness, defendant;
- know about local government, the services it offers and the opportunities to contribute at a local level; also understand the meaning of terms such as mayor, council, councillor, bye-law, election;
- know about the work of voluntary and community bodies; also understand the meaning of terms such as *pressure groups*, *lobbying*, protest, public opinion;
- know about the work of Parliament, the Government and the Executive in making and changing the law; also understand the meaning of terms such as Member of Parliament (MP), general election, political party, national government, opposition, cabinet, government department, Act of parliament;
- know about the ideas and aims of the main political parties and pressure groups; also understand the meaning of terms such as *pressure groups*, lobbying, public opinion;
- know about the UK as a political entity, including its multi-national constitution and contemporary relations with the Republic of Ireland, the European Union (EU) and the Commonwealth; also understand the meaning of terms such as Scottish Parliament, Northern Ireland Assembly, Welsh Assembly, Member of the European Parliament (MEP), European Union (EU);
- understand the economic system with reference to the work of the market and the concept of price and major economic issues of the day such as poverty and unemployment, including the provision of key public services; also understand the meaning of terms such as *taxation*, *the welfare state*, competition, market forces, distribution of wealth;
- know about the world as a global community and understand the political, economic and social disparities that exist; also understand the meaning of terms such as overseas aid, development, sustainable development, international trade, charity, human rights.

6.14 Key Stage 4

6.14.1 Skills and Aptitudes

By the end of Key Stage 4, pupils should be able to:

- express and justify, orally and in writing, a personal opinion relevant to an issue;
- contribute to small group and class discussions on matters of personal and general significance and present the outcome to a wider audience;

- work with others to meet a challenge of shared significance through negotiation, accommodation and agreed action, and be able to reflect on and critically evaluate the process;
- use imagination when considering the experience of others and be able to role-play and express plausibly viewpoints contrary to their own, and to reflect on and critically evaluate such viewpoints;
- investigate, analyse, discuss and reflect on major challenges faced by communities;
- research an issue or event of significance from a range of sources including TV and radio news, documentary footage, newspapers and new communications technologies with particular reference to bias and the use of evidence;
- demonstrate an understanding of the use and abuse of statistics;
- take part in formal debates and have structured opportunities to vote on issues.

6.14.2 Knowledge and Understanding

By the end of Key Stage 4 pupils should:

- understand the significant aspects of topical and contemporary issues and events;
- understand, at a basic level, the law and the legal system in relation to areas such as the family, consumers, the law at work and in relation to the environment; understand about different sources and types of law,
- including statute, judge-made law, and European law (including ECHR);
- know about the different ways in which the law is enforced, the role of the police, crime and punishment and penal reform as a personal and social issue; also understand the meaning of terms such as *rule of law*, *civil law*, criminal law, civil rights, natural justice;
- know about the different ways in which MPs can be elected and the Government held accountable through parliament to the electorate, including the importance of voting, public opinion, opinion polls, the role of the media, lobbying, pressure groups and different forms of protest; the different electoral systems and understand the reasons for the differences;
- also understand the meaning of terms such as *proportional representation*, referendum, federalism, monarchy;
- know about the values, interests and policies of the main political parties and pressure groups; also understand the meaning of terms such as pressure groups, lobbying, public opinion;
- know about the changing constitution of the UK, including the relationship between the two Houses of Parliament, the changing role of the monarchy, shifting relationships between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and Britain's relationship with the European Union and the Commonwealth; some understanding of why the European

Union was created; also understand the meaning of terms such as *devolution*, independence, European Monetary Union (EMU);

- understand the economic system with reference to what is appropriate to private and to public ownership, regulation or control, and to problems of income distribution, employment, taxation, housing and the provision of public services, especially health, education and social services; also understand the meaning of terms such as *wealth creation*, *personal* taxation, pension provision;
- understand the world as a global community, including issues such as sustainable development, economic interdependence, heavily indebted countries, and the work of United Nations organisations and major non-governmental organisations; understand the meaning of terms such as stewardship, interdependence, ethical trading, peace-making and peacekeeping.

APPENDIX B: END OF KEY STAGE DESCRIPTORS

Citizenship Attainment Targets (National Curriculum Online, 2008)

End of key stage descriptions

The following descriptions describe the types and range of performance that the majority of pupils should characteristically demonstrate by the end of the key stage, having been taught the relevant programme of study. The descriptions are designed to help teachers judge the extent to which their pupils' attainment relates to this expectation. The expectation at the end of key stage 3 matches the level of demand in other subjects and is broadly equivalent to levels 5/6.

Key Stage 3

Pupils have a broad knowledge and understanding of the topical events they study; the rights, responsibilities and duties of citizens; the role of the voluntary sector; forms of government; provision of public services; and the criminal and legal systems. They show how the public gets information and how opinion is formed and expressed, including through the media. They show understanding of how and why changes take place in society. Pupils take part in school and community-based activities, demonstrating personal and group responsibility in their attitudes to themselves and others.

Key Stage 4

Pupils have a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the topical events they study; the rights, responsibilities and duties of citizens; the role of the voluntary sector; forms of government; and the criminal and civil justice, legal and economic systems. They obtain and use different kinds of information, including the media, to form and express an opinion. They evaluate the effectiveness of different ways of bringing about change at different levels of society. Pupils take part effectively in school and community-based activities, showing a willingness and commitment to evaluate such activities critically. They demonstrate personal and group responsibility in their attitudes to themselves and others.

APPENDIX C: INVITATION LETTER TO SCHOOLS

Invitation letter to schools

«Name»
«School»
«Address1»
««Town»
«County»
«Postcode»

ASSESSMENT OF CITIZENSHIP IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

As the teacher responsible for Citizenship in your school, I hope that you will be interested in this research which investigates the development of assessment of Citizenship in maintained secondary schools. I am conducting a national survey to develop:

- knowledge and understanding of the assessments currently used in Citizenship education;
- understanding of the perceptions of these assessments by teachers and students; and
- an evidence base for policy in regard to the citizenship curriculum and its assessment.

I require teachers and pupils to participate in interviews to tell me about their experience and perceptions of the assessments of Citizenship currently in use in their schools. It is only by talking to teachers and pupils directly that I can construct a realistic picture of the current provision.

Participation would comprise the following:

An interview with one pair of students from Year 10 and another pair from Year 11 (30 minutes for each interview)

An interview with you to discuss the implementation of citizenship in your school and the methods of assessment that you use at key stages 3 & 4. (No more than 40 minutes).

Having worked in schools for many years, I appreciate how difficult it is to accommodate visitors, but your participation will be of great value to the development of citizenship education policy and assessment.

I will telephone the school in the next week to discuss this with you. However, in the meantime, should you have any questions about the research, please do not hesitate to contact me on: 01342 300612 or 0208 392 3022.

Kind regards

Mary Richardson
Centre for Research in Beliefs, Rights and Values in Education
E: mary.richardson@roehampton.ac.uk
T: 020 8392 3022

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Interview Schedule: STUDENTS

Outline of the project and background.

Any information we receive from you will be reported anonymously.

The interviewee agrees to the tape-recording ☐

About You and Your School

Which Year Group? Favourite subjects? Preparing for any exams this year? How many?

What do you think about Citizenship – you like it?

Do you think it's important to learn about Citizenship?

What do your friends think about Citizenship? What kind of a subject is it?

Can you describe a Citizenship lesson to me?

How are your achievements in Citizenship recognised?

When I use the term assessment, what does that mean to you?

Do you think that Citizenship can be assessed/tested?

What sort of methods of assessment do you use for Citizenship?

Cues: Portfolios and/or diaries, Written evidence, Tests or examinations, Games/quizzes, Video, Presentations

Appropriateness of assessments for Citizenship?

Cues: Could they be improved? Can Citizenship be assessed?

Would you like to take a GCSE?

Responses to assessments?

Cues: Are some methods more popular than others? Do students achieve of their best with this flexible approach? Are they ambivalent? Currency? Employer links?

Have you talked to your parents about Citizenship? What do they think?

Do you have any questions for me?

Interview Schedule: TEACHERS

Outline of the project and background.

We are particularly interested in your perceptions of policy development, managing citizenship education and methods relating to assessment.

Any information we receive from you will be reported anonymously.

The interviewee agrees to the tape-recording ☐

About You and Your School

Years Teaching:

School type:

Single sex/mixed

Number of pupils

Your responsibilities: Job title (other roles?)

Can you describe your professional background for me?

Involvement in Citizenship to date

Specialist Qualification in Citizenship (PGCE/Other)

Other PGCE or B.Ed

How long you have been involved in the management/delivery of Citizenship in your school?

Were you involved in the implementation of the subject into the school Curriculum?

How is Citizenship provided/delivered in your school?

Cues: During tutorial time with form tutors, As a cross-curricular theme, As a timetabled subject (how often? where?) Combined with another timetabled subject, Through suspended timetabled days, Through a whole-school approach

Who is involved in the design and provision/delivery of Citizenship?

Cues: Class tutors, A dedicated team, One or two co-ordinators, School leaders – which ones?

Governors, Parents, Students, Community Members, Invited guests

Are there any areas where you, or the staff providing/delivering Citizenship in your school, need to develop and improve your knowledge of the subject?

Cues (from NC):

Legal and human rights National, regional, religious and ethnic identities

Central and local government Parliamentary and other forms of government

Electoral systems

Community-based, national and international voluntary groups

Resolving conflict

Media in society

Global community

Do you think that there are skills which you, or the staff providing/delivering Citizenship in your school, needs to develop and improve in relation to Citizenship?

Cues: Developing policy, supporting pupils to develop skills in enquiry, communication etc., Promoting participation (in and out of school) among pupils, talking about sensitive and controversial issues, Methods of Teaching and Learning for Citizenship Education, Pupil assessment in Citizenship Education

What do you think your students make of Citizenship lessons?

Cues: Are they a popular lesson? Do students have an adequate grasp of what citizenship is?

How does citizenship in primary education translate to secondary education? Are there any gaps between the two levels of provision?

Do you have any dialogue with parents about Citizenship?

Cues: Influence of media?, Influence of politicians?, Parents' evenings?

What sort of methods of assessment do you use for Citizenship?

Cues: Portfolios and/or diaries, Written evidence, Tests or examinations, Games/quizzes, Video, Presentations

How did you go about choosing these methods of assessment?

Cues: Guidance documents – QCA, DfES etc., Another citizenship teacher, Other

Are you content with the methods of assessment currently in use?

Cues: Would you prefer to use more? Would you prefer to use less? If not content, why not?

Do you think that the assessments used are appropriate for Citizenship?

Cues: Could they be improved? Can Citizenship be assessed?

How do students respond to the assessments?

Cues: Are some methods more popular than others? Do students achieve of their best with this flexible approach? Are they ambivalent? Currency? Employer links?

Is there anything else about the Citizenship curriculum or your experiences of assessment that you would like to add?

CONCLUSION – OUTCOMES OF THE STUDY

APPENDIX E: SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTIONS

TEACHER TRANSCRIPTION

School M [T13] 17th May 2006

The school is based in a small town in Kent within commuting distance of London. The school is quite old and was formerly a grammar which became comprehensive in the 1970s. The teacher is in her first year following NQT and trained at Canterbury - one of the few with ITE in Citizenship. The department is quite new and well resourced; the school felt lively and the children were very pleasant to work with. The teacher was passionate about her subject and keen to do all she can to raise the profile of citizenship as a key subject in the curriculum.

PREAMBLE

Well I'll just start with a few logistical questions; you've been teaching two years, yes?

T Two years, yes.

And do you have any other responsibilities aside from teaching, actually what's your job title?

T My current job title is Acting Head of the PSHE and Citizenship Department; and hopefully I'm going to take that into next year as well.

And you don't have any other jobs as yet around the school?

T Well no, I mean I'm a form tutor but that comes in with the role anyway...no other responsibilities no.

And can you describe your professional background for me in terms of your training?

T Well, obviously I did A levels and then did a degree in Sociology at Roehampton and then I did my one year PGCE course at Canterbury Christ Church and then did my NQT year and then came here... so I haven't really had any other employment apart from part time work.

Right and your PGCE was in citizenship? T Yes.

So you weren't, or have you been in the last two years, involved in implementation of the subject into the school curriculum to any great extent or?

T Well to some extent; in my previous school where I was doing my NQT it was also where I was trained as well so I trained there for half the time and I trained here and in my NQT year I helped with the Head of Department that was there and she'd previously been in her NQT year, the year before my NQT and we were both working towards SOWs to help develop, particularly the citizenship side as it was mainly PSHE.

So, can you describe then how it's delivered in the school, citizenship?

T In this school, it's a discrete subject although within that time frame which is 50 minutes a week, we have to deliver the PSHE curriculum as well. Next year there will be a course for circle time being much more prominent in form tutor time so that will take some aspects of discussion and helping pupils actually think about key skills but that's kind of more PSHE as well.

Okay, so how do you differentiate for students at the moment when they are learning about citizenship?

T Well with Year 7 I've actually done discrete subjects and I've actually spent quite a bit of time just saying "This term we are going to focus on citizenship" explained everything about what citizenship is and told them how it was different. But in the upper years it hasn't been that explicit as yet although next year with the SOW that I am doing, it will be much more explicit. And it will be a term on citizenship and a term on PSHE even though there will be overlaps that we will discuss within lessons.

Have you ever tried, or has it been done where it's been fed in a cross-curricular way?

T It's still, I mean even though in an ideal world it would be a completely spiralled curriculum it has been implemented where teaching staff, particularly Head of Departments have had an audit where they understand what they are doing...

[Interruption from another member of staff]

Now, I have to remember where we were. Oh yes, we were talking about the inclusion etc.

T Oh yes, so the staff have done a citizenship audit and so they've actually looked at their curriculum and where it's been delivered although some staff seem to suggest that they are only looking at the skills of communication rather than the knowledge base and if they are not looking at the knowledge base as well as the skills of enquiry and communication then technically it's not citizenship so that's where it's kind of falling down at the moment although there is great cross curricular links particularly with geography, English and science where we are looking at sustainable development so that feeds from geography where we look at different literature where it kind of crosses over with the media and society. And then with science, again kind of sustainable development but renewable resources and thinking about how to make sure that we have an environment that we are proud of in say, ten years time and how they can contribute to that hopefully.

That sounds fantastic. So, do you know in this particular school who was actually involved in the original design of citizenship; are they still here?

T Um, no, Mr D who was Head of PSHE and Citizenship and also Head of Humanities he was here for a long time and I think he would have probably helped and discussed this and like with the implementation particularly of citizenship, before this he was delivering solely PSHE and so then he tried to generally and gently develop it within the curriculum. The citizenship aspects; but he does actually come into the school and works on a cluster basis just to kind of help out and we are actually working towards Healthy Schools status and that kind of feeds into citizenship and PSHE and other areas of the curriculum.

So do you think that it was conscious decision when you came here that they wanted someone with specific training in citizenship? The job you applied for, was it a specific post?

T It was citizenship, PSHE and RE although because I was here on placement as well I kind of knew quite a lot more about the school so it wasn't specifically as if they'd said "Because you've got this training we would like to employ you for this", but that definitely had a major

factor in it as well and I think we've just recently had a new head Miss M, and she's very keen for the citizenship, particularly the active side to be much more developed within the wider scale of the community. And she definitely wants me on board and other people, Ms MT is going to be doing Work Related Learning, so kind of feeding in again on this, hopefully, spiral approach...

Do you think that there are areas, at the moment, in the delivery, that are lacking? Where you could do with developing more skills or other staff who are supporting you could do with?

T Definitely; I think that there are a lot of teachers that have taught it in the past that have got a variety of different skills but it's trying to develop the skills that they are not generally used to. So we are trying hard to circle time and develop that up the school so it's not just a Year 7 thing where they think it's quite babyish because at the end of the day, as adults if we want to talk to each other, we get round in a circle and discuss, so it's trying to get that balance to try and feed in all these different skills at different times that's appropriate. I mean, I am just gaining skills with experience although I'm open to everything that anybody has to offer. We have had a problem this year because Mrs W, who was HoD, has been ill and then on maternity leave, so unfortunately we've had a cover teacher with her class which hasn't been ideal and then the only other person that teaches PSHE and citizenship at the moment is one of the deputy heads and his background is drama, so he's very good at the discussion, the role plays and that kind of bit, but not necessarily as good at the structuring of the work side and actually getting them to put their ideas down on paper. But we've gone quite a long way, because I think not last year, but about two years ago there was about seven different teachers delivering it and they all had various different classes and that's quite hard to then kind of coordinate everything...

Do you think that the students felt that, do you think that there was an impact on them?

T Yeah, because I think that the students knew that it wasn't their subject so they didn't have, not that they didn't have the passion for it but they knew it was just kind of a one off lesson that they had to teach whereas their background would be like PE for example, rather than PSHE and citizenship so they kind of lost that background. And I think with the best will in the world, it

takes time to learn the curriculum as well, so it's difficult with that as well. So all that delivery wasn't the best way, so getting discrete teachers like we will have next year will be brilliant because it will be me, it will be Mrs W who's going to be part time and Mrs M who will be mostly involved in the Work Related Learning and Enterprise but will also have the PSHE side and all of us were trained in citizenship. So it will hopefully be a really good, core department.

Yeah, that will be really interesting to see; I'll have to keep in touch with you about that!

T Yes, it's going to be great.

What do you think that your students make of citizenship? Is it a popular lesson and do you think that they understand it?

T It's raising its profile; I wouldn't say that all of the students necessarily at the moment understand what citizenship is to the extent that I would like because of the fact that literally I've only been here since September and because the school in the last few years and previous to that had a very much PSHE feel. So with citizenship coming in; I'm doing it gradually and I'm really trying to make it as explicit as I can. I think that a lot of them are on board particularly when they do things like circle time and it doesn't have to be a structured lesson like English for example because we can get up and we can talk about things and its not necessarily just about the writing side because of the fact at the moment, they are not being assessed in terms of an end of... like a GCSE. Although, again with raising the profile, I'm going to be, next year involved in delivering GCSE citizenship with a core group with the hope in two years to get that as an option on the timetable.

That was going to be my next question! Which specification would you do?

T Oh, okay, yes OCR. Yes, I did that in my last school and I think in the last school we did it as compulsory which is hard going because they weren't on board although it did raise the profile a lot but this year judging by the questionnaires that have come back, there's 37 people that want to do it, so actually we are going have to whittle that down. But that's quite a positive reflection on the students and...

So, did you poll the whole year group then; the Year 9s?

Yes, so the Year 9s got their option booklet and we included two more on the options booklet but they were going to be after school sessions; one of them is a GCSE citizenship and the other one is beginners Spanish I think it was so those two, they are just going to be run after school. So it's quite a commitment from the students and I was quite worried about numbers, but actually 37, I'm really proud of and then again, it gives me a time to air out any problems so then when it comes to an option on the timetable; I'm fully aware of how I'm going to set it up properly.

Okay, so you think that the school are amenable about you introducing citizenship? (Yes) They are; well that's great then.

T Yes, I think if I'd have pushed it; I would have been allowed to have it on the timetable but I thought for myself and the students I didn't want to put that much pressure particularly when the students a lot of them don't know about citizenship and what it is. So it was generally trying to talk them about it at Parents' Evening and open evening and produce a little booklet to help them just make their decision looking at coursework and actually what they are doing. And telling them as well that it's not just about learning another subject, it's just bringing all aspects of different subjects a pulling them all in together into one.

Right, well what do you think that other members of staff generally think about citizenship?

T A lot of them are very positive; they really appreciate the world around us, how we need to act as helpful citizens and having the respect and moral values underpinning everything that we teach in citizenship. However, some teachers, it's quite a hard going battle because they see it as quite a, they call it like a 'Blue Peter' kind of subject where you are just doing posters or you know, watching a video and it's not about that at all. I mean there are some things that we will use but not to the extent that they feel and I think it's just hard to try and raise its profile, but I know that in the future there will probably upcoming whether it be staff development days or twilight sessions where I'm keen to actually run a whole day or a session on what citizenship is, how teachers can help deliver it in their subject and the value and importance and hopefully get

you know more people aware about what it is. Because sometimes I just think it's, well they just actually don't know so they'd rather label it as something rather than find out... But generally 90% are completely on board which is great

And you were saying earlier about that confusion between the subjects; I'm finding that commonly across schools between citizenship and trying to separate that from PSHE, even from RE sometimes; I guess you are suffering from that?

T Yes, it's hard; very much so because at the end of the day, I can see completely why they are put in the same timetable slot; I've got no problem with that, I have a problem with people thinking they are the same subject because I actually and in a way you can probably lump PSHE in with any subject and it would have overlap. So it's kind of this new subject called citizenship going all right "Where can we fit it in with the timetable, oh we'll put it in with PSHE" which is fine, but I think, for me personally we need to make that distinction, not only to staff but to pupil's as well. So next year I am making sure that not only on their timetables does it say PSHE but it's slash Citizenship so that they know that they are two different subjects.

And what sort of methods do you use to assess citizenship at the moment?

T At the moment that's under development, I know that's kind of a get out clause [laughs] But being new over two years I've looked at one side last year you know where we did some assessment at key stage 3, but it was very minimal and at key stage 4 it was just looking at the GCSE citizenship short course which is quite good. But this year what I'm trying to do, particularly with the year 7 scheme of work that we're developing is adding variations of assessment, so I'm going to include: a role play, going to include presentations, going to include just multiple choice and short answer questions to get students to get to know key words, think through their ideas and everything we've learnt in that topic. It just depends what the subject lends itself to, to be honest. But a mixture of those...

Okay, are you happy with the kinds of resources that are available for developing assessment at the moment?

T Not assessment, no. I've read one book and it was really good but it focused a lot on democracy and, which is fine, one of the most important subjects in citizenship but it was kind of, I don't know if it's a criticism; but I found it for me, slightly inaccessible because of the school I was in because it was just too out of reach so I would really have to kind of differentiate that down and I know you always need start point and that it's good to start higher but you know, I would have liked something that really took on board for different kinds of schools whether it be a grammar school, a comprehensive, a secondary modern or whatever and just give us different ideas about assessments and not only discussion and how to do that. But again, role plays because I think they are quite an important part and I had one book, I can't remember who it's by and it set out taking a case to the European Court of Human Rights and it gave you a level 3, 4 and 5 and how students were going to achieve that. And because it was so specific you could give that to pupils, go through it with them and then they'd know how I was assessing them and it would be really amenable to them, but I mean it was a good start; I'm not knocking them but there's a lot more I think that should be developed on the assessment side because I think everybody's in the same boat. They don't know what to do.

Personally I've put together key stage 4 and key stage 3 user-friendly level descriptors from the curriculum although I haven't given them to students yet because again I'm developing them. So hopefully next year I'll give them to Year 7s and that might be a step in the right direction about how they can work to the next possible target and also a really good way of giving feedback back to parents in the interim reviews and progresses that we do here; so in report writing

Do you think that parents have a handle on what citizenship is?

T Not yet I don't think; I think a lot to times that I do parents' evening, they are really impressed with this new subject and how much their pupils are going to get from it but it's a different thing getting the pupils on board sometimes as well because they are not seeing the benefit of it initially. But every parent that I've ever spoke to; there's not been one that's been against it, its just again raising its profile. So the more that I see parents, the more the profile will be raised. So it's positive again and its on its way but... it's not fully there yet

What do you feel about the fact that at the end of key stage 3 there's no levels, like in other subjects? How do you feel about it because it's something that really shocked me when I first compared it to other subjects?

T It shocked me and I mean I was unimpressed with that considering that by law we have to now you know feedback on their end of key stage 3 assessments and how do you do that when there is no levels? So I've developed my own in terms of like I said pupil-friendly but at the same time we should have some, you know I can't think of the word, but making sure that all schools are singing from the same hymn sheet because otherwise...

Like a benchmark?

T Yes, because otherwise it just, say a pupil left the school, it's just going to be completely different so we need that consistency that other subjects have got although it has taken a long time for those other subjects to get it, so... hopefully there will be some levels out there at some stage that everybody's going to be abiding by but I mean in the National Curriculum where it just says that by the end it should be this, this and this is not enough for me at the moment to be able to comment on every single pupil at different stages of their development.

What do you do, do you give them an A to D grade or something in their reports?

T At the moment, we are not commenting on it. And that's something that I need to very quickly rectify so at the moment, we don't actually give them a level, all we give them is an effort grade and a behaviour grade and a comment. So we really need to make sure that next year we are giving them some kind of level by the problem with that is we are not going to level in PSHE so then am I going to have to write two separate reports and then that's going to get slightly confusing not only for teachers but for pupils and parents... so that's going to be a bit tough, but it needs to be done. Then hopefully at the end when we comment on what they can do to improve I'll come up with word banks of working towards, to and beyond so then they can get familiar with the vocabulary used to actually assess them.

Right, those sounds really good and in terms of the types of assessments that you are thinking of do you think that there are some methods that are going to be particularly popular with students here? The particular students in this school?

T Yeah, I think that... I mean the various I've said I think they are all going to be on board about, but I think they actually like having a sit down exam just because of the fact that they can kind of see more clearly, what they've gone wrong in, where they can work towards and they are given a mark even though when I do mark their work it's comment only because we are not allowed to give grades here. They do like having something tangible to them to hold onto and then they can kind of see their improvement but then some things are not going to kind of lend itself to written exams all the time although some subjects will.

Yes, will I was just thinking that if you start to introduce the GCSE as well, then you've got the active element and the assessment of the active element as well...

T Well, what I was thinking of that was in Year 7, they would all be given a little book that was going to be their citizenship diary so everything they were ever involved in whether it be a club and outside event, a sporting event, an award; they would write and comment on it and keep a diary if it was going to be ongoing so then when they did get to Year 10 they would be able to use that for their coursework part A as OCR do for the active piece and then at least they won't be sitting there thinking, "Well I don't actually do anything" because they do it's just making sure that we just have a record of it and that's another thing that we can assess because we can say that you know "You need to get more involved in school life really" or outside agencies but again what I think that it would be a good idea for me and my department to help develop links for pupils to be able to go to. I mean work experience is quite a good way to get them involved in the industry side but I think that we need more links in terms of getting pupils involved like with Duke of Edinburgh Award for example, because I don't think to my knowledge that we do that here. So something like that even if it be that they go to a different school to be able to have that available and on offer to them to be able participate in them if they so choose.

Okay so do you think that the introduction of the GCSE later on is going to raise the kudos of the subject?

T I think so, I think it will because I think that pupils will then start seeing it for the value of what it is to be honest. The leaflet that I did, I set it out like the OCR booklet does and I think that when they start to see actually “I’m learning about this in Geography, or I’m learning about that in History” and it’s just consolidating it then it’s not going to be an extra kind of as much of a commitment for them. So hopefully they will be able to take it on board quite well and particularly with the students that we have in this school where some of them aren’t the most academically minded; they are more active and they want to get involved, well that will really help them although it’s very difficult because obviously the GCSE, well 40%, no 60% of it is down to exam. So some of these kids particularly in this school, have so many brilliant ideas that they could talk to me about them for hours when it comes to writing it down they kind of freeze which is tough because then again that comes back to assessment. Because if we don’t assess it in a number of different ways and we keep to one I think some of the pupils that have different skills will miss out quite severely, but no I’m hoping that the GCSE will raise its profile definitely

Well, yes the government have also been talking about developing an A Level. Do you do A levels at this school?

T No, what happens is that we kind of have a sixth form centre and we share it with other neighbouring schools, so they are not on site at all and they just get sent there and we don’t have any A level students on site. It would just be that some pupils would just naturally go there but they would be amongst other pupils from other schools as well.

Well, I mean in terms of those qualifications, the thing at the moment that I’m wondering about is the fact that Citizenship GCSE is a short course and there is talk of developing it into a full course. There are talks of development of a full course amongst the boards; I mean would you prefer to see it go to full course?

T It's difficult because I'd like a full course available, but whether I'd choose to go to it would be a different thing because of restrictions in timetable and how much more a commitment it would be for pupils. But you know I mean I'd like to have it available definitely so then even if you differentiate between two different GCSE groups where one's following the full course and one's following the short course. But no, I'd like to see that...

Okay, well that's sort of everything that I want to ask but I just wanted to ask you if there's anything that you would like to add to do with your experiences or any comments that you might have that you might think is important?

T No, I mean like I said to you earlier, I just find it difficult talking to various different people particularly in other schools and how they are taking the view so differently. Because you pick up the curriculum and you just interpret it in such a different way that it's hard to have that kind of consistency among all these different schools and having resources available to help you teach it. There are lots out there, say the RSPCA will help you with animal rights, you'll have NSPCC with children's rights but everything is in bits everywhere and I'd like some consolidation of that knowledge. I mean I use some core text books like citizenship 1 and citizenship 2 which are very good, but again it's just trying to make sure that we amalgamate all of the information available because there's vast amounts out there but (1) it's not necessarily amenable to everybody and (2) I think it's difficult sometimes to get it involved in the curriculum because you know you've got so much time constraints with everything else. But apart from that, I think it's well on its way and I, we are trying to raise its profile definitely in this school. But that's it...

Conclusion due to time.

PUPIL TRANSCRIPTION

School M 10 [Two x female]

Both were enthusiastic although one girl tended to dominate the conversations. The interview took place in the teacher's office and was free from interruptions.

PREAMBLE: the study was explained to the pupils and they asked questions about it.

So that's the basis of the study. So you two are coming to the end of Year 10 are you? What have you had to do recently; you did SATs last year, yes?

1 Yes

You haven't had to have any horrible exams lately have you?

2 No, our GCSEs start soon, well next year...

Okay, so you haven't had to do any early or anything like that then?

Both: No

I just wanted to ask you first of all about your citizenship lessons, and just say do you like it?

1 Yeah, they are okay, like we get to be involved because we get to ask questions that are like have got to do with us.

What about you, do you like it?

2 Yeah, usually we are in like groups, so we all can discuss it and then tell the whole class what we actually think overall and that's usually a good way of saying it all I think.

1 Yeah, putting your point across...

Is it very different from other subjects that you have in school, I mean the way that you learn about it? The way that it's taught; what do you think?

2 Yeah, it's more open whereas usually if you are in another lesson you will sit through it; it's all a big discussion about everything...

1 Like obviously it's going to be different from like English and Maths and stuff; it's like easier really because it's like general stuff really?

Okay, do you think that it's important that you have to learn about it because it's law now, never used to be when I was at school we didn't have anything like citizenship.

1 If we didn't have to learn it we wouldn't know stuff that like actually affects us like sex and politics and that...

What do you think are the most important things that you've learnt about so far?

2 I dunno...

Have a think about it...

2 Probably sex education and stuff like that because...

1 It involves us.

2 And it [inaudible]

1 Yeah, it's cos it's like life skills; we've got like emotional life skills I think...

2 And so it makes you think more about yourself and stuff.

So about things that are going to affect you or that do already affect you? And you don't learn about those sorts of things in other lessons?

Both: Not really, not in particular, no.

Okay and what do you think most pupils, your friends and peers, what do they think about having to learn about citizenship?

2 Probably the same really.

1 They are involved [inaudible]

Yes, so people like going to those lessons? How do you, it's quite a hard question, but how do you think about citizenship compared say to, other subjects that you have to learn; I mean do you think it's an easier subject than other subjects or not?

2 It depends really.

1 Yeah, it depends what you are talking about because you are sort of what the teacher is talking about you've got to understand and sometimes it's difficult to understand what she actually means...

Can you give me an example of one of the things that you found difficult?

2 Other people's situations and stuff really.

1 Yeah and like then we get to, well if we don't understand we get to ask questions but then we get our answers straight away...

Right, from her?

Both Yeah.

2 Or from like other people in the class.

1 Yeah, whoever's in.

Okay, do people think of it as a kind of, does anyone ever treat it as a kind of doss lesson; or anything like that? Because I've had other students say to me "Well I don't really treat it that seriously", but it seems to me that you take it quite seriously, I don't mean that you say "This is very serious!", but that you like this lesson and you are going to participate way.

2 A few people do, but not like, but I wouldn't say that like everyone found it really boring just, I dunno.

1 Usually people that don't participate in the lesson will get bored and it shows if they don't want to talk about things then they are not going to be in the conversation and then some of them may get a bit bored with it. But that's not; I wouldn't say that's the whole class...

And do you think that people are generally quite honest in their opinions in that class; do you feel able to talk about things?

2 Yeah. Not like restricted or anything, we are able to just say what we think.

Is that different to when you are learning in other subjects?

2 Yeah, cos everything else is like the text book and stuff whereas like PSHE and stuff it's just, I dunno, it's really like equal...

It's quite interesting that you said the term then, PSHE. Do you see PSHE and Citizenship as the same thing or one thing?

2 Yeah, they are kind of the same aren't they really?

Do you think that you could separate them? I'm just wondering what you think is more PSHE and what is more citizenship?

2 I dunno, we get taught it all as PSHE so I'm not really sure.

Oh, okay, you get it taught as one subject. I'd like you to try and describe, have you had a lesson recently in citizenship?

Both: Yeah, we had one yesterday.

Could you describe that lesson to me; because I don't have the time to come and observe a lesson and I was wondering if you could tell me you know, what happened, what you were learning about and how the lesson was structured so that I can get an idea of what your lesson would be like?

1 What were we doing? Oh yeah, we've been reading newspapers recently...

2 Yeah, doing media.

1 And she wanted us to pick a story that we've read recently or that was on the sheets that we've read and in groups of four we had to; we've got make a newspaper.

2 It's four sheets, like four sides and it's just like a newspaper...

1 And we've each got to put our own view on like the subject that we've picked in the newspaper.

2 And ours was the 11 year old girl that got pregnant, that was ours.

Oh yes, that girl was in Scotland wasn't she? And how did you find that task was that quite straightforward? Do you do it over a lesson, or do you have a couple of lessons to do that?

1 Yeah we've got a couple of lessons to do it.

2 Yeah, we've got two or three.

And then what will you do at the end, will you all have to present the papers to one another at the end?

1 I'm not quite sure, I think we get told in the next lesson.

2 Yeah, we've only just started it so, I dunno.

1 I think that in each group she wanted everyone to participate; like everyone to have a go, like one page was like everyone's page.

2 Yeah, there's four people and four sheets so we had to do one page each.

Oh, so you've each got to take responsibility for something then haven't you? And how do you find that working in groups like that; does it work okay?

1 Yeah, I think so.

Yes, you pull together alright?

2 Yeah, because you get everyone's ideas together and it's more, I dunno, it's more...

1 Well we try some of the girls in our class will stick with just girls, but me and M will like mix with the boys so it's not just getting one side of the view...

Yeah, you get a different perspective don't you if you do that. And the thing, another thing I've very interested in is about the way that your achievements in citizenship are recognised. When

you have done a piece of work, what I mean by this [laughs because students look blank] do you get a grade or a mark for it? Does it get marked?

1 Yeah, it does get marked but I don't think that we get a grade for it; we've just got a folder haven't we?

2 Yeah, we do get a report, sort of...

1 Yeah at the end of each term...

2 And that then is, it's each subject and each mark that we got for the subject and then a comment, so I think that usually...

1 It goes into that doesn't it?

2 Like whether you've got the people skills and things like that

And do you get like a letter, an A, B, C or D grade or is it numeric? Do you get a number or a percentage?

1 No, I think I got a B last time in the last lesson.

Okay, so they do that as an overall thing? Is it important to you to know how you are doing in citizenship?

2 Yeah, cos then you know what you are doing right and what you are doing wrong really; but you can't really do right or wrong in that lesson though can you? It's more like questions and things, I dunno, your ideas and stuff...

Do you feel the same way?

1 Yeah, you can't really.

2 Yeah, there's no right or wrong about it.

And do you ever have to mark each other's work, or have a look at your own work and mark your own work?

2 Yeah, what was that thing that we done? A couple of weeks ago I think, about the media and [inaudible] was writing the questions on the board and we had to do our own marking and she helped us... [trails off]... I dunno.

Okay, so how did that work, did you have to decide how you thought you had done?

2 Yes, and then she asked a few of us what we had thought and stuff.

How was that; do you think that's easy to do?

2 Yeah, I dunno.

Do you think that people are quite honest about the marks that they give themselves then?

1 Yeah, they do.

Well because one thing that I've found is that talking to students around the country is that some students who have to do that kind of assessment say that they usually give themselves a slightly lower grade than normal. Are you quite honest do you think, about the grades that you give yourself?

1 I think that most people are, but I think that there are some that would probably give themselves not a lower grade, but a higher grade! Just so that they feel [inaudible].

And then do you discuss it afterwards with the teacher or anything and you know, sort of, well if that happens would the teacher say to them "Well I don't know, I don't think it's worth an A" or whatever...?

2 Yeah, probably.

Yeah ok. Can you do an GCSE at this school?

Both No.

Because you can in some schools and I'm going to check this with your teacher. I wondered if you could, would you choose to do it?

2 Yeah, probably.

1 I probably would.

2 You need it in like most things in your life don't you really for like jobs and that?

1 Can I ask something? Is Sociology; is that like to do with Citizenship?

Some bits of Sociology are similar to citizenship yes, some areas overlap.

1 Because in some schools they do Sociology, like they can pick it as a subject but like we don't at this school.

2 Is that like Health and Social Care?

1 No, no.

No, it's different again! You see there are hundreds of things that you can choose from now; you've got lots of different subjects. Okay, so you would be interested in doing a GCSE if it was on offer. So do you think that a GCSE in citizenship is the same as a GCSE in something else? Do you think that it's of similar value to say I don't know a GCSE in Music?

2 I don't think it is; I don't think that it would be as respected as something really important...

Such as?

2 Like if you had it people would be "Yeah that's good", but, I dunno if you was like really clever it wouldn't be the same as that...

1 Yeah, if you like, it wouldn't be like you had worked for it, because it's your own opinion it wouldn't be...

Okay, well I think it's interesting when you said the words that other subjects are more important. What do you think are more important subjects?

2 I dunno, if you were like some kind of brain box you wouldn't like really...

So, do you think then, well you've got these subjects which are part of the core curriculum that everyone has to learn about and citizenship is one of those, but do you think, if you had to rank

them in order from one to eight saying that one is the most important; where do you think that citizenship should come?

2 Probably at the top.

You do?

2 Yeah because I dunno, you need it really and it's about you and it tells everyone that you know your rights and all that. In other subjects its about algebra and stuff like that...

And at the moment when you do work for citizenship, do you keep everything that you've done?

1 We've got like a folder.

And what are the folders like? Is it up to you how you put your folder together?

2 They are like a paper; you know the cardboard wallet things? It's one of them.

And you keep everything in there? (Yes) Do you think that is the best way of assessing what you've been doing and keeping a record of what you've been doing?

2 Yeah, to keep it in a folder, but I think that we should put it in one with dividers and stuff you know?

To keep it in different areas, topic areas or something?

2 Yeah, like that.

And what do you think about being tested about your knowledge of citizenship in other ways. Do you ever have things like written tests or exams or anything else like that on it?

2 We did in Year 9 didn't we?

1 Well I wouldn't say they were like tests, more like just questions based on what we've done and whether we agree with what the whole class had agreed on, saying what it was or not. She just looks at it.

Okay, do you get a mark for that?

1 No, I don't think so.

And did you get to keep that afterwards or was that something that was collected in?

1 No, that was collected in.

What do you think, well in the future you are going towards your GCSEs and then choosing I don't know if either of you are interested in going on to do some A levels – do you think you would be?

Both Yes.

They are talking about developing an A Level in citizenship, so do you think that might be something that you would be interested in doing?

2 Yes, it would be helpful for later on in life if you know what I mean, you would be able to use it.

Do you think an employer would be interested in you having that?

2 Yes, because it makes you look like fair and I dunno, you know what's going on.

1 I suppose it gives you people skills really and gives you, you know, well when you see things on the TV like the news, you might; you know what it is but you might not understand it properly. Whereas citizenship teaches you what it is overall...

2 Yeah, you understand it.

I also wanted to ask you about whether you've talked to your parents about citizenship. Because you said that you get a report and citizenship is on that report. Have they ever asked you what it is and what you learn in it?

2 Yeah sometimes if learn about something that you'd say was like quite important at school, I'd go home and say "Did you know?" and start going on about nothing.

And what do they think about you having to learn about citizenship?

2 I dunno, I think that my mum would be like happy that I know stuff like that probably.

1 My mum's actually got a degree in Sociology, so she's quite up on with what we are doing, so if I went home and said "Oh we had a discussion today about something in PSHE", she'd be quite willing to listen because she understands it.

Well, that's quite good then, if they are supportive of it. Because that's one of the things that I'm interested in is whether people actually think whether it's a useful subject to learn about and whether their parents do too. Unfortunately you don't have any choice in the matter; you just have to do it.

2 But, we do PSHE, we've all got to do that and then there's RE and I dunno if that's citizenship?

1 No, there was last year when we did a, with Mr R, we did like about different cultures and what they thought of it and stuff so that could be in there.

So was that RE or part of citizenship or weren't you sure?

2 That was RE what we had, but it did come into it.

1 Because RE is an option, you can pick RE here, but you can't...

2 But I don't know if that is something to do with citizenship, I'm not sure...

I suppose some bits are, like learning about other cultures and other ways of life and ideas...

2 Yes, because some of the RE teachers are like citizenship teachers as well aren't they?

Yes, so you've got that cross over too. Okay well that's all I wanted to ask you about citizenship, I hope that was quite painless and I want to say thank you very much it was nice to meet you. Do you have any questions for me?

Interview concludes

APPENDIX F: QUESTIONNAIRES

12 December 2016

Dear Colleague,

CITIZENSHIP ASSESSMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

I am writing to ask you to spend a few minutes of your time to participate in a research project which focuses on the implementation and the assessment of Citizenship education in your school.

The study seeks to develop:

knowledge and understanding of the assessments used in Citizenship education;
understanding of the perceptions of these assessments by teachers and students; and
an evidence-base for policy in regard to the Citizenship curriculum and its assessment.

The key to the success of this research rests in obtaining data from teachers and pupils who are currently experiencing the implementation and development of assessments for Citizenship. Enclosed are this questionnaire for you to complete and 20 copies of a questionnaire for Year 11 pupils (they can be photocopied for distribution to further pupils if necessary). A pre paid envelope is enclosed for the return of completed questionnaires by **Monday 13th March 2006**.

I have worked in schools for many years and appreciate how difficult it is to accommodate requests for information, but your participation will be of great value to the development of this research in Citizenship education policy. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are free to request that your data is withdrawn from the study at any time. All data will be stored securely and your responses will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Should you have any further questions regarding this study, or if you wish to discuss any other aspects of the research, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Best wishes

Mary Richardson
Centre for Beliefs, Rights and Values Education
School of Education
Roehampton University

Telephone: 020 8392 3022
Email: mary.richardson@roehampton.ac.uk

ENC. Questionnaires and pre-paid return envelope

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: A SURVEY OF TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

Section A: Your role in the school

1. How long have you been teaching? _____ (Years/Months)
2. Which subject(s) other than Citizenship do you teach? _____
3. Which of the following responsibilities do you have? (Please tick all that apply)
 a) Citizenship co-ordinator ☐ b) Citizenship Teacher ☐ c) Form Tutor ☐ d) Other ☐
4. Please describe your school type (e.g. Community) _____

Section B: Citizenship Curriculum

5. What kind and how much training have you had to teach Citizenship?

6. Do you have a specific qualification in citizenship education?
 Yes No If Yes, what is it?

7. How involved were you in the introduction of citizenship education to your school's curriculum?
 A great deal Quite a lot A little Not at all
- 7(i) What was your role in this?

8. To what extent did the introduction of the citizenship curriculum involve other members of staff?
 A great deal Quite a lot A little Not at all
9. Please indicate the structure of teaching of citizenship at Key Stages 3 and 4 in your school?

Key Stage 3 a) A discrete subject b) A cross-curricular subject c) Both	Key Stage 4 a) A discrete subject b) A cross-curricular subject c) Both
--	--

9(i). If you ticked (a) or (c) as a discrete subject, please indicate approximately how much time is allocated to the teaching of citizenship each week ____ hours.

Section C: Assessment of Citizenship

10. How do you record progress in citizenship at key stages 3 and 4? (Please tick all that apply)

Key Stage 3	(✓)	Key Stage 4	(✓)
Portfolios and/or diaries		Portfolios and/or diaries	
Written tests or examinations		Written tests or examinations	
Games and quizzes		Games and quizzes	
Video and/or audio tapes		Video and/or audio tapes	
Presentations		Presentations	
Other (please describe)		Other (please describe)	
		Don't assess at Key Stage 4	

11. On average, how many pieces of work do your pupils usually present for assessment? _____

12. How are your pupils' achievements in Citizenship recognised and celebrated?
(Please tick all that apply)

Key Stage 3	(✓)	Key Stage 4	(✓)
National Award Schemes (e.g. Duke of Edinburgh Awards)		National Award Schemes (e.g. Duke of Edinburgh Awards)	
National qualifications (e.g. GCSE)		National qualifications (e.g. GCSE)	
Written reports for parents		Written reports for parents	
School awards and/or certificates		School awards and/or certificates	
School assemblies or presentations		School assemblies or presentations	
Reported via local news media		Reported via local news media	
Other (please describe)		Other (please describe)	

13. Does your school offer any of the following specifications for citizenship? (Please tick all that apply)

Qualification	Yes	No	Awarding Body
General Certificate of Secondary Education (Short Course)			
Entry Level Certificate			
General Certificate of Education (AS) Social Science: Citizenship			

13 (i) Please explain briefly why your school chooses to offer, or not to offer, a nationally recognised specification in citizenship.

Section D: Attitudes towards citizenship

This section asks questions about your perceptions of the present citizenship curriculum and how it is implemented in your school.

14. **Defining citizenship.** As part of my research, I am constructing a list of definitions of citizenship and would like to know what you think defines it as a subject. How would you define citizenship?

Citizenship is

15. The following table contains statements about citizenship teaching and assessment and the way in which pupils, teachers and parents might perceive the subject.

Please rate each of the statements by ticking the box which reflects your view.

Statement		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
A	The purpose of Citizenship lessons is clear to staff and pupils in my school				
B	Staff sometimes confuse Citizenship with PSHE				
C	Pupils understand why they have to study Citizenship				
D	Parents support the teaching of Citizenship in this school				
E	Pupils think Citizenship is a waste of time				
F	Staff were interested in the introduction of Citizenship to the curriculum				
G	The availability of more nationally recognised qualifications would improve pupils' motivation to study Citizenship				
H	The assessment structure of Citizenship is difficult to manage				
I	Parents understand that assessment structure of Citizenship is different to assessment in other subjects				
J	Pupils value all of their achievements in Citizenship				
K	The assessment structure of Citizenship is not always clear to pupils				
L	Schools could give achievement in Citizenship a higher profile				
M	The implementation of assessments of Citizenship are generally straightforward				
N	A qualification in Citizenship is valued in the same way as a comparable qualification in other subjects				

Section E: Final comments

16. If you have any comments about the introduction of citizenship and your experiences of implementing the teaching and assessment of the subject, please write them here.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Please use the **pre-paid** envelope to return your completed questionnaires by **13TH MARCH 2006**.

PUPILS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ASSESSMENTS OF CITIZENSHIP

Thank you for agreeing to fill in this questionnaire. I am interested in what **you** think about Citizenship and the way that it is assessed. There is very little to write because you will answer most questions by ticking a box.

Read each question carefully and ask your teacher if there is anything in the questions that you don't understand.

This questionnaire is anonymous and what you write will be treated in the strictest confidence, so please don't write your name on it.

Mary Richardson, Roehampton University

Section A: Your Details

I am in Year 10 ☐ I am Male ☐
Year 9 ☐ Female ☐

Section B: Your Citizenship Classes

1. I have studied Citizenship for years.
- 2a. I can take GCSE (Short Course) in Citizenship at my school. Yes ☐ No ☐
- 2b. If **Yes**, are you going to take a GCSE (short course) in Citizenship? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 2c. If **No** to Qu. 2b, please explain why you don't want to take a GCSE in Citizenship.

-
- 3 You will probably have already submitted work to be assessed by your teacher. Please let me know what sort of work you handed in to be assessed.

My assessments included:
(Please tick all that apply to you)

Portfolios and/or diaries	<input type="checkbox"/>
Video and/or audio tapes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Games and/or quizzes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Written coursework	<input type="checkbox"/>
Written tests or exams	<input type="checkbox"/>
Presentations	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please describe)	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section C: What You Think About Citizenship

4. This section presents statements about the Citizenship curriculum in your school. Read each statement and think about whether you agree with it or not. Tick (✓) the box which agrees with what you think.

STATEMENTS		I strongly disagree	I don't agree	I agree	I strongly agree
Learning about Citizenship					
A	Citizenship classes teach me about useful things				
B	I should be able to choose whether or not I take a course in Citizenship				
C	Taking a course in Citizenship is a waste of time				
D	It is important that the purpose of Citizenship lessons is understood by pupils				
E	Learning about Citizenship is worthwhile for children				
F	I don't need someone to teach me about Citizenship				
Assessments of Citizenship					
G	The tests we take in Citizenship are difficult to understand				
H	I would like to be able to take an exam which leads to a qualification in Citizenship (for example, a GCSE)				
I	It is hard to test what we have learnt in Citizenship lessons				
J	A qualification in Citizenship is not as useful as one in another subject				
K	A good mark in Citizenship means that I am a good citizen				
L	It is easy to do well in Citizenship tests				

5. **What is Citizenship?** Try to explain what **you** think the subject of Citizenship is about. There is no right or wrong answer to this question. I am collecting as many different definitions as I can from pupils in England.

Citizenship is

Section D: Final Comments

6. If you have any other comments about your Citizenship lessons and assessments, please write them here.

Thank you for filling in this questionnaire.

APPENDIX G: INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENTS



RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

(Pupils)

Title and brief description of Research Project:

Models of assessment for Citizenship Education

This research is investigating the way in which Citizenship Education has been developed for schools in England.

When you take part in this research, you and another student in your year group will attend an interview together. The interview will last about 30 minutes and will include questions about your experience of Citizenship education. The interviews will be audio-recorded. All the information you tell me will be confidential and your name, or any other information that might identify you, will be not be used when the research is published. Your participation in the interview is voluntary.

Name and status of Investigator:

Mary Richardson, PhD Researcher

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point and do not need to give a reason for doing so. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the researcher and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Name

Signature

Date

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation, please raise this with me, your teacher or with my Director of Studies, who is

Name: PROFESSOR RON BEST
Contact Details: FROEBEL COLLEGE, ROEHAMPTON UNIVERSITY,
ROEHAMPTON LANE, LONDON SW15 5PU
020 8392 3374
R.Best@roehampton.ac.uk

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

(Teachers)

Title and brief description of Research Project:

Models of Assessment for Citizenship Education

By means of a review of literature, a survey questionnaire and interviews with teachers and students in English schools, this study seeks to develop:
knowledge and understanding of the assessments used for measuring achievement in citizenship education in maintained English secondary schools;
understanding of the general perceptions of these assessments by their primary user groups – teachers and students; and
an evidence base for policy in regard to the citizenship curriculum and its assessment.

Your participation in this research will comprise an interview lasting approximately 30-40 minutes which will include questions about the implementation of citizenship, your methods of assessing the subject and your perceptions of the citizenship curriculum. You will also be asked to select two students to take part in paired interviews. The interviews will be audio-recorded and notes will be taken by the researcher. All information is treated in the strictest confidence and your anonymity is assured.

Name and status of Investigator:

Mary Richardson, PhD Researcher

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point and do not need to give a reason for doing so. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the researcher and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Name

Signature

Date

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation, please raise this with the investigator or with the investigator's Director of Studies, who is

Name: PROFESSOR RON BEST
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ROEHAMPTON LANE, LONDON SW15 5PU
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APPENDIX H: ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

EB1 STUDENT ETHICS APPLICATION

NAME: Mary Richardson

SCHOOL: Education

Roehampton
University 

ETHICS BOARD

APPLICATION TO THE ETHICS BOARD

Please type this form or complete it in black ink and in block capitals and continue on additional sheets wherever necessary (attach any additional sheets to your application). You should first read the Ethical Guidelines for Research, Practice and Teaching, and pay particular attention to section 2.1.

NO ACTION IN RESPECT OF FACILITIES OR DATES SHOULD BE TAKEN, NOR ANY AGREEMENT OR CONTRACT ENTERED INTO, UNTIL THIS APPLICATION HAS BEEN APPROVED.

When you have obtained the necessary signatures the completed form and attachments should then be sent to your School Office who will submit your application to the relevant Research Student Co-ordinating Group prior to the University's Ethics Board.

SECTION 1: PROGRAMME DETAILS

**Delete as appropriate*

Programme of Study: MPhil/PhD

Mode of Study: Full-time

If you are not a research student please state the post that you hold with the University:

If you are an external applicant please state your position and Institution:

SECTION 2: PERSONAL DETAILS

Address for correspondence: 3 Hackenden Cottages, Hackenden Lane, East Grinstead, West Sussex
RH19 3DP

Telephone no: 01342 300612

Email: richardsonmoss@aol.com

Date of Registration: 01/10/2004

SECTION 3: ACADEMIC SUPERVISORS

If you are a student of the University you should give the name and School of your research supervisors or the lecturer responsible for the course in which this investigation occurs. If you are an external applicant you should give the name and School of your academic sponsor in the University

Name: Professor Ron Best (Director of Studies)
Dr Liam Gearon (Supervisor)

School: Education
School: Education

EB1 STUDENT ETHICS APPLICATION

NAME: Mary Richardson

SCHOOL: Education

SECTION 4: TITLE OF PROJECT

Testing Citizens: models of assessment for citizenship education

SECTION 5: PURPOSE OF PROPOSED INVESTIGATION

This study seeks to develop:

- knowledge and understanding of the assessments used for measuring achievement in citizenship education in maintained English secondary schools;
- understanding of the general perceptions of these assessments by their primary user groups - teachers and students; and
- an evidence base for policy in regard to the citizenship curriculum and its assessment.

SECTION 6: OUTLINE PLAN OF RESEARCH

Include details of methodology, and identify ethical issues

Overview and Ethical Issues

The empirical study will comprise research with teachers of citizenship and students in years 10 and 11 in a sample of Local Education Authority (LEA) maintained schools in England. Contact details of the selected schools will be drawn from the database of the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) website - www.dfes.org.uk. This study will use a combination of two approaches a survey using questionnaires and a series of semi-structured interviews.

The survey will consist of two questionnaires: one for teachers and one for students. The aim of using a survey is to collect generalisable data that measures attitudes towards citizenship assessments in schools. Questionnaires will also be used to recruit schools for the interviews. Interviews with teachers and students will provide a more detailed understanding of their perceptions of citizenship assessments can be achieved. Teachers will be interviewed individually and the students will be interviewed in pairs. All schools that participate will be sent a summary of the results of the study.

As with all research, there are ethical issues to be considered in the planning of the study. The empirical study includes the following areas for ethical consideration:

- Access to schools
- Conducting research with teachers and students
- Collecting survey response data
- Collecting interview data
- Tape-recordings of interview data

Informed Consent

The sample members' informed consent to participate must be obtained. In line with recommendations outlined by Lewis (2004:66-68), each school that is invited to participate will be provided with the following:

- A summary of the study including how the data will be used and what participation will involve
- Details of the researcher and additional contacts at Roehampton University
- Assurance of voluntary participation

EB1 STUDENT ETHICS APPLICATION

NAME: Mary Richardson

SCHOOL: Education

The guidelines for working with children as outlined by British Educational Research Association (2004) will be adhered to. The researcher will ensure that all student participants will be facilitated to give fully informed consent and will endeavour to make their experience of the research comfortable. The researcher will terminate any interview where a participant shows signs of distress or expresses the wish to withdraw from the research.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

In this research, the organisation of the research and recruitment of the schools will be conducted by the researcher, therefore all schools that agree to participate will only be known to the researcher and a person employed to assist in data entry. Participants will be informed that the researcher and one other person will key and analyse their comments and interview data.

Anonymity will be achieved by the researcher coding each named school with a numeric code and keeping the sampling details and the returned questionnaires/interview data in separate places to ensure that it is not possible to link data with a specific school or person. The findings will be reported in such a way as to ensure that no one person or school can be identified from a comment or response. In addition, the data will be archived until the research is complete (post-PhD thesis publication), but the researcher will ensure that it is stored in a secure place until such a time as it can be destroyed.

Main Study

Method

SURVEY: Two different questionnaires will be presented to participants: one questionnaire for the teacher responsible for citizenship and another questionnaire for six students per school, who will be selected by the teacher. Questionnaires will comprise closed-response questions and rating scales; they will also contain some questions asking respondents for personal data:

- Students will be asked to indicate their age and gender, but not their name.
- Teachers will be asked to indicate the school-type that best represents their school, the number of years that they have been teaching, their subject area and (for SE region schools only) whether or not they wish to participate in further interviews.

INTERVIEWS: Interviews will begin with a brief introduction to the research and a reminder to respondents that their responses are confidential. The researcher will then engage subjects in some informal 'warm-up' questions with the aim of encouraging them to relax and talk freely about their experiences. The interview schedules will be piloted and particular consideration given to the wording used by the interviewer. Interviews will take two forms:

i. Individual interviews - Teachers.

Respondents will be asked their name, but this will not be recorded on the interview schedule or the tape. Each participant will be allocated a numeric code for reference in the data analyses. Semi-structured individual interviews will be used to determine the experiences and impact of implementing assessment of the citizenship curriculum. In these interviews, the researcher will take notes and make a tape recording; the tapes will later be transcribed to give a full representation of the interview.

ii. Paired interviews - students

Teachers will be asked to select pairs of students for interview. Again, students will be asked their names, but this will not be recorded on the interview schedule or the tape recording; each subject will be given a numeric code for the purposes of analyses. During the interview, notes will be taken by the researcher and a tape recording made. Tapes will later be transcribed to derive a full record of each interview.

British Educational Research Association. (2004). *Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*. Nottingham: BERA.

Lewis, J. (2004) 'Design Issues' in Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (Eds.). *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage

EB1 STUDENT ETHICS APPLICATION

NAME: Mary Richardson

SCHOOL: Education

SECTION 7: USE OF VOLUNTEERS

Give details of the method of recruitment, and payment/reward if any.

Participants will be recruited in two ways: questionnaires will be sent to a random sample of schools across England. A letter outlining the purpose of the research will be included with the questionnaires and a statement of Informed Consent for staff and students to sign and return with completed questionnaires. Questionnaires will not require participants to indicate their name or any other identifying feature unless they wish to do so. Questionnaires sent to schools in the SE of England will include a section asking whether they would be willing to participate in interviews, if so, they will be asked to supply a name and contact details.

At the interview, the purpose of the research will be described again and the researcher will ensure that all participants have completed a statement of informed consent. Participants will be told that they are free to withdraw at any time and their anonymity will be assured.

No payments will be made.

SECTION 8: PARTICIPANTS' CONSENT

You are likely to require volunteers' consent. A pro forma of the University's recommended consent form is attached to this form. Attach the version of the form, or alternative, you intend to use, together with any information to be given to volunteers. What is appropriate information to be given will vary from project to project. You should consider carefully what information you give, such as: scope of study, number of participants, duration of study, risks of the project, benefits of the project etc. You are advised to seek advice from your Director of Studies or an appropriate member of the Ethics Board.

NB: If images or other information which might allow the identification of volunteers is to be publicly accessible (e.g. electronically on the web), further written consent must be secured.

Please see attached forms.

SECTION 9: HEALTH AND SAFETY PRECAUTION

Where relevant a Risk Assessment should be carried out and you should show that appropriate mechanisms are in place. If necessary the University's Health and Safety Adviser should be consulted before the application is submitted.

Not applicable to this study.

EB1 STUDENT ETHICS APPLICATION

NAME: Mary Richardson

SCHOOL: Education

SECTION 10: PUBLICATION OF RESULTS

State how you will publish your results, and how you will ensure the confidentiality of your volunteers

Results will be published in the researcher's PhD thesis and it is possible that they might be presented either at a conference and/or published in a journal. All names will be changed and the identity of all participants will be protected. Schools will only be referred to by school-type thus ensuring that it is not possible to identify them from geographical locations. Individuals will be re-named, for example, teacher 1, teacher 2 etc. and a similar series of codes will be adopted to ensure anonymity of pupils.

SECTION 11: STORAGE OF DATA

State how, where and for how long the following data will be stored and how its security will be assured:

(a) raw and processed data

Raw data will be handled by the researcher and a person employed to transcribe tape recordings. When not in use, data will be kept securely (in a locked cabinet) at the researcher's home. All data will be retained for 2 years after successful completion of the PhD.

(b) documents containing the names, contact information and personal details of any volunteers

All personal documentation will be stored securely (in a locked cabinet) at the researcher's home. These data will be confidential. This information will be destroyed once the PhD is successfully completed (i.e. post viva and publication of the thesis).

SECTION 12: SOURCE OF FUNDS

This PhD is funded by the ESRC (+3). The researcher also receives a bi-annual payment (paid to the School of Education) to cover the cost of empirical work, postage, stationery, travel, transcription work and necessary equipment (e.g. tape recorders).

SECTION 13: OTHER GUIDELINES

If you are following subject-specific guidelines, state which they are.

The ESRC's publication, "Guide for Postgraduate Award Holders" (2004) states that it expects "high ethical standards in the training it supports as well as in the development, conduct and reporting of the research undertaken." In addition, the guide advises research students to be aware of four ethical standards expected by the ESRC:

1. use of ethical guidelines published by Learned Societies
 2. that ethical issues are identified and built into the research design from an early stage
 3. that researchers must be honest about the aims, methods and intended use of results
 4. that confidentiality of data on individuals is maintained within the limits of the law
-

EB1 STUDENT ETHICS APPLICATION

NAME: Mary Richardson

SCHOOL: Education

SECTION 14: OTHER APPROVALS

Indicate whether the project has been or will be submitted for approval to the ethical committee of any other organisation, and, if known, the result of that submission.

None

SECTION 15: PROPOSED START DATE AND DURATION

Registration (MPhil/PhD) Start Date: 01/10/2005

Project Start Date: 04/2005 Duration: 12 months

SECTION 16: APPLICANT'S SIGNATURES

Signature

M Richardson

Date:

23/03/05

SECTION 17: DIRECTOR OF STUDIES (OR SPONSOR) SIGNATURE

Name: *RON BEST*

Signature: *R Best*

Date:

23/03/05

Name:

Signature:

Date:

SECTION 18: RECOMMENDATION BY SCHOOL

Head of School

On behalf of the School, I support this application for ethical approval and confirm that the appropriate research support facilities are available to support the student's research to completion.

Name: *KEVIN J. BREHONY*

Signature: *KJ Brehony*

Date:

7/04/05

APPENDIX I: PILOT STUDY

Pilot questionnaires: Working Paper

The pre-pilot was established with the aim of trialling the survey questionnaires and the interviewing techniques for the main empirical study. Contact was made with three schools local to the researcher: the teachers responsible for citizenship were telephoned and asked to participate, two agreed to this and one teacher agreed to do a telephone interview and said she would try to get the questionnaires out. Due to the timing of this trial, it was not possible to access pupils in Year 11 (they had left the school on completion of GCSE examinations), but it was possible to survey Year 10 pupils. The teachers were asked to select pupils to complete the questionnaires. Each teacher was sent a letter outlining the purpose of the research together with one questionnaire for them and 10 questionnaires for their pupils. They were asked to return completed questionnaires in a pre-paid envelope.

RESULTS

The results are presented in two sections, the first relate to the responses from pupils and the latter are responses from the teachers – as there were only two teacher respondents, no numeric data have been presented as this is not a representative sample rather it gives a brief overview of two people's responses and assists in the development of the questionnaire structure and content.

PUPILS

Section A: Your Details

18 questionnaires were returned by two of the schools, this is a response rate of 60%. The average age of pupils was 15 and the gender split of respondents was equal.

Section B: Your Citizenship Classes

The average number of years that pupils had been learning citizenship was 3, (the mode score for this question was 4 years). When asked whether or not their school offered a GCSE examination in Citizenship, 13 respondents indicated that their school did not offer a public examination,

however five respondents ticked Yes, indicating that their school did offer a GCSE. Those who ticked Yes commented that they had little time to devote to the subject or were simply not interested in taking an examination in Citizenship. This was checked with the teachers and both confirmed that neither school offered the exam; therefore it is likely that the respondents misunderstood the question – this was noted and the question reviewed.

Pupils were asked to indicate the types of assessment used to record and review their learning in citizenship: they were presented with a range of assessment types and asked to indicate which of the seven options they had experienced – the results are summarised below.

Portfolios and/or diaries	10
Games and/or quizzes	8
Presentations	8
Written tests or exams	7
Written coursework	7
Other (please describe)	4
Video and/or audio tapes	3

As the results show, the majority of pupils are familiar with a portfolio style of assessment and have also gained experience of presenting their work to the class and through devising a game or quiz. Almost half of the pupils still regularly experience a written test or coursework as part of the assessment. Of the four pupils who ticked ‘Other’, 3 had used poster presentations as a means of assessment and one answer was not relevant.

Section C: What You Think About Citizenship

Pupils were given a table of statements to consider and were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each statement. The results are summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Summary of statement results from pupils

Citizenship		I strongly disagree	I don't agree	I agree	I strongly agree
A	Learning about citizenship is good for everyone	3	3	8	1
B	People don't need to be taught about citizenship	3	7	2	1
C	It is important for us all to participate in community activities	0	3	8	5
D	I know what citizenship is	1	2	11	0
Citizenship Lessons					
E	Citizenship classes teach me useful things	3	1	10	0
F	It is important that citizenship is taught in schools	2	0	9	2
G	Learning about citizenship is a waste of time	1	12	0	2
H	I should be able to choose whether or not I study citizenship	0	2	9	4
Citizenship Assessments					
I	The tests I have taken in citizenship are difficult	5	4	1	0
J	I would like to be able to take a qualification in citizenship (for example, a GCSE or A Level)	3	8	2	0
K	Presenting my work in different ways, for example, a portfolio or a video, is good	4	0	8	4
L	A qualification in citizenship is not as useful as one in another subject	3	6	2	2

The responses to the statements are largely what might be expected with the majority of pupils ticking what they perceive to be the ‘middle’ answer therefore in the second pilot the ‘don’t know’ column will be separated from the main group of answers to see if this has an effect upon the way pupils answer. Generally pupils seem to be supportive of citizenship as a subject and feel that it is a useful subject, however, most indicated that they should be able to choose whether or not they study it and are not keen to take an examination. However, these answers are somewhat at odds with the responses to the final statement where the majority of pupils (albeit a small majority) indicate that citizenship is as useful as other subjects. *Perhaps it is worth rephrasing some of the statements to give them the opportunity to describe why they might not want to take a qualification or why they feel it is more useful etc. – this can be done via some careful wording.* Question 7 has the most ‘Don’t Know’ responses and there is no clear indication why this is so – perhaps pupils’ lack of experience with assessments meant they didn’t feel equipped to answer the question or it could be that they did not understand the question? *Consider re-phrasing for the next stage of the pilot.*

In Question 6 pupils were asked to say what they think citizenship is. The answers were varied, but tended to fall within categories (some responses fit more than one category) and these are listed below:

- Learning about the community (passive) [8]
- Participation in the community (active) [5]
- Specific topics mentioned: drugs, work [4]
- Part of the a programme of learning [2]
- Learning about the wider world [2]
- Don’t know [1]

Finally, pupils were asked to comment on their citizenship lessons and assessments. Only four comments were made – one pupil said the lessons were boring, two respondents suggested that lessons could be more exciting and another pupil wanted more lessons each week!

TEACHERS

Section A: Your role in the school

Two teachers responded to this questionnaire. One had over 34 years of teaching experience and the second had been teaching for four years. Both are citizenship co-ordinators and whilst one is also the PSE co-ordinator in their school the other was a deputy head. In addition to the roles mentioned above, both teachers also have responsibility for teaching the following: PE, Art, Leisure & Tourism; and Health & Social Care, Science/Biology. Both schools are community schools in a small rural town in West Sussex.

Section B: Citizenship Curriculum

In this section, teachers were asked to answer questions relating to the provision for citizenship in their schools. Neither school offers a specific qualification, or public examination in citizenship. Neither teacher has any specific experience of teaching citizenship. Both teachers were involved in the introduction of citizenship (one ticked 'A great deal' and the other 'Quite a lot'). Both indicated that other staff had 'Quite a lot' of involvement with the introduction of the subject. In both schools, citizenship was taught as both as a discrete subject and across the curriculum via other subjects.

This is where differences become apparent and there is a need to consider how to record the different ways in which the provision is delivered. For example, in this sample, one respondent said 1 x hour (discrete) and 1 x hour of cross curricular; whereas the other respondent said 1 lesson every 14 days at KS3 and 9 lessons per year at KS4. Perhaps put another, quicker, answer pro forma into the questionnaire relating to the KS?

Section C: Assessment of Citizenship

The teachers were asked to indicate which methods of assessment they use to record and review progress: There was a difference between key stages (as expected): the first respondent used portfolios, written evidence at both key stages and added quizzes at KS3 and an examination at KS4. The second respondent used presentations at both key stages and portfolios for KS3 and written evidence at KS4. The first school asked pupils to present a piece of work at the end of each unit for KS3 and two pieces of work at the end of KS4, whereas the other respondent said that the number of pieces of work required was varied. Both schools recognise pupil achievement using a range of the methods that they were presented with, whilst one school used all of the methods, the other was more selective according to key stage.

Neither school offers a GCSE specification and both had different reasons for this: one felt that the GCSE (SC) Religious Studies picks up enough of the content and that the addition of another GCSE would be inappropriate for pupils. The other school felt that to introduce an exam would mean the scope of the subject would be less flexible, but added that the PSHE to be introduced in the future would have a large section on citizenship. When asked about definitions of citizenship, one teacher quoted the QCA definition whereas the other presented a definition which included the ability of pupils to value and understand issues and systems in society together with the notion of preparing for life.

Teachers were also asked to consider statements about citizenship and mark their level of agreement; this is summarised in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Summary of responses to statements given to teachers

Statement		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	The role of citizenship is clear to teachers and pupils in my school			✓	
	The teaching of citizenship could be improved with more resources		✓		
	Pupils understand why they have to study citizenship			✓	
	Pupils and staff sometimes confuse citizenship with PSHE		✓ ✓		
	Parents support the teaching of citizenship in this school		✓		
	Pupils think citizenship is a waste of time			✓	
	Citizenship is popular with staff and pupils			✓	
	More nationally recognised qualifications would improve pupils' motivation to study citizenship			✓ ✓	
	Assessment of citizenship is difficult	✓	✓		
	Parents understand that assessment of citizenship is different to assessment in other subjects		✓		
	Pupils value their achievements in citizenship		✓		
	Pupils find assessment of citizenship confusing		✓ ✓		
	Achievement in citizenship could be given a higher profile in schools		✓ ✓		
	The assessment of citizenship is generally straightforward			✓	✓

	Citizenship is valued in the same way as other subjects			✓ ✓	
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One respondent was more uncertain about their understanding of certain areas answering ‘Don’t know’ on at least six occasions. Respondents agreed that citizenship is often confused with PSHE and that the pupils find the current structure of assessment difficult; they also believe that the introduction of a public examination would not necessarily improve the ‘face’ of citizenship. What is interesting is that both teachers ticked disagree for the final statement, whereas their pupils do not seem to feel the same way having indicated that citizenship was an important subject to learn about and one which they did not feel was less valuable than other subjects. *Is this a case of teachers thinking that they know what the response is? In the main study it might be worth reviewing this type of questioning and ensuring that there is a definite parity between the question structures for both questionnaires, thus outcomes will be more robust.*

The teachers were also asked to comment: Both indicated that they were having difficulties in structuring assessment that they thought was ‘valuable’. Was the evidence/outcome useful? There were some admissions at this point - one school probably spent too much time focussing on the active components of the curriculum in comparison with the more ‘academic’ or knowledge-based elements and another relied upon PSHE to help with the teaching of citizenship.

APPENDIX J: ASSESSMENT DOCUMENTS FROM SCHOOLS

School S – self assessment documents

CITIZENSHIP AND PSHCE END OF KEY STAGE 3 ASSESSMENT

STUDENT – SELF ASSESSMENT

Please tick any of the following statements which you feel are true about your work in Citizenship. Follow this with an example of when you have done this and where any written evidence can be found eg. in exercise book, as a poster etc.

During my Citizenship course I have:

Shown that I have knowledge and understanding of topics studied.

--

Used a range of sources including media and ICT to investigate topics and current affairs.

--

Analysed and evaluated a range of information sources including media and ICT when solving problems and investigating topics.

--

Shown that I understand how media can present information with different interpretations and show bias.

--

Taken part in class and group discussions.

--

In discussions been able to give my own opinions.

--

CITIZENSHIP RECORDING AND REPORTING CRITERIA FOR KEY STAGE 3

Pupil name:

Form:

Teacher:

Working towards expectations (WT)		Achieving expectations (WA)		Working beyond expectations (WB)	
Knowledge and understanding					
Answers some factual questions		Answers most factual questions asked		Answers higher order factual questions (extension)	
Understands some key words		Understands and can explain key words		Understands key words and uses in context	
Understands some concepts		Has a broad understanding of issues covered		Has a sound understanding of issues and can hypothesise	
Can give an opinion (oral or written)		Can give an opinion and justify it (oral or written)		Can justify more than one point of view in structured argument	
Scores less than agreed pass mark in exam		Scores agreed pass mark in exam		Scores agreed high pass mark in exam	
Best fit (WT, WA, WB)					
Target:					
Enquiry and communication					
Sometimes responds to questions (oral)		Asks and responds to questions (oral)		Asks and provides higher order responses to questions (oral)	
Has basic research skills and uses limited resources		Can select research from reliable sources		Can research and analyse info from a variety of sources	
Some ability to select appropriate resources		Ability to select appropriate resources		Can recognise unreliable sources	
Contributes to discussions on occasions		Regularly contributes to discussions		Makes regular, well developed and constructive contributions	
		Can identify questions to support enquiry		Can identify and develop questions to support enquiry	
		Can describe how and why change takes place.		Can explain the implications of change	
Best fit (WT, WA, WB)					
Target:					
Participation					
Rarely participates in school or community activities		Participates in school or community activities		Regularly participates in school or community activities	
Listens to others some of the time		Shows a responsible and accepting attitude towards others		Manages group discussion in an inclusive way, handles conflict.	
Usually co-operates with others and works as a team		Co-operates and acts responsibly in a group activity		Demonstrates a variety of group skills and roles	
Usually complies with group decisions		Contributes to group decision making		Can organise and prioritise group tasks	
Shows empathy for others at a simplistic level		Shows empathy for others in a variety of situations		Shows a deep understanding of the plight of others	
Takes part in peer/self assessment activities		Can identify criteria/carry out reliable peer/self assessments		Can select suitable criteria/carry out effective peer/self assessments with feedback	
Best fit (WT, WA, WB)					
Target:					

School Q: self-assessment pro forma

<p>I can answer factual questions. I can show that I understand some key words. I can relate concepts to issues and events explored.</p>	<p>I can provide information about the topic. I can explain key concepts to demonstrate a broad understanding of the issues and appreciation of issues and events explored.</p>	<p>I can demonstrate a sound understanding of the issues and events explored. I can break down information into component elements to demonstrate understanding of citizenship issues and concepts. I can combine elements into an idea or statement/hypothesis, moderating it with their view and attitudes.</p>
<p>I can ask questions about the topic. I can respond to the issues explored. I can research and interpret sources at face value. I can give examples of bias and omission. I can reflect on responses to issues. I can give reasons for my personal opinions. I have contributed to small group discussions.</p>	<p>I can research and evaluate sources. I can explain if a source is trustworthy. I can relate information from one source to another. I can explain how and why changes take place. I can identify questions to support my enquiry, I consider and discuss issues and can justify my personal opinion. I have contributed to class discussions and have participated in a debate.</p>	<p>I can research and analyse information from different sources. I can explain why some sources are more reliable than others. I can identify and develop questions to support my enquiries. I can organise information from sources to provide my own account.</p>
<p>I have participated as a member of a group in school and / or community activities. I listen to others in group-discussions and comply with positive suggestions in group activities.</p>	<p>I have demonstrated personal and group responsibility in my attitude to others when participating. I accept the values of others, whilst articulating my point of view.</p>	<p>I can give examples of when I have had to organise and prioritise tasks. I have taken increased responsibility on several occasions when participating in group-work. I know and can cite ways in which to handle conflict appropriately, with examples. I am consistently able to justify personal opinions and present opinions that are not my own. I am happy to take different roles in group work, and have demonstrated different group work skills in these roles</p>

School C: Year 10 examination paper

PSCHE

Key Stage 4

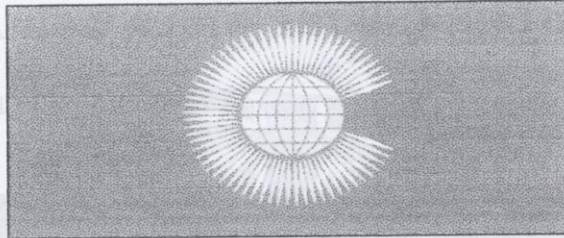
Year 10 Citizenship Exam

Section A

1. Which political party hold the most council seats in Barnet?
A) Liberal Democrats
B) Labour
C) Conservatives
D) BNP
2. What is the main decision-making body of the council?
A) Governors
B) Cabinet
C) Leaders
D) Mayors
3. Boroughs are divided up into what?
A) Countries
B) Areas
C) Sections
D) Wards
4. At what age are you legally allowed to get a part time job?
A) 16
B) 10
C) 12
D) 14
5. What is an agreement called between Governments?
A) Contract
B) Discussion
C) Act
D) Convention
6. What is the global plan to ask local people how they think their immediate environment could be improved called?
A) Area Agenda 51
B) Local Agenda 21
C) Local Agenda 41
D) Local Agenda 2000

16. Which one of these is a benefit for a sole trader?
 - A) Able to share the work with others
 - B) Able to make your own decisions
 - C) Able to raise more finance
 - D) Benefits from specialisation
17. Which official document is used by a Partnership?
 - A) Deed of ownership
 - B) Deed of association
 - C) Deed of partnership
 - D) Partnership document
18. Which of these statements is correct?
 - A) Businesses can pay below the minimum wage
 - B) Every employee must be given a contract of employment within 13 weeks
 - C) Employers do not have to recognise trade unions
 - D) Female workers do not have to be paid the same rate of pay for doing the same job as men
19. A definition of a pressure group is
 - A) A group of workers who join together to ask for more pay
 - B) An employers group who lobby parliament
 - C) An organisation formed by people with a common interest who get together to further that interest
 - D) A group of customers who take part in market research
20. The Victoria & Albert Museum contains what kind of artefacts?
 - A) Work from just Australia & New Zealand
 - B) Work from parts of the world such as Asia, India, Japan and China.
 - C) Work from England
 - D) Work from Ireland
21. What does the national portrait gallery contain?
 - A) Just painting of faces
 - B) Just photographs from the 20th century
 - C) Just sculptures
 - D) A mixture of the above but from the 17th Century to present day
22. Biological pest control;
 - A) Relies on relationships between populations of predators and their prey
 - B) Is a very inexpensive method of pest control
 - C) Cannot be species specific so can disrupt food chains
 - D) Can lead to the development of pest resistance in the targeted population
23. Diets low in dietary fibre
 - A) Can cause obesity
 - B) Can lead to joint damage
 - C) Can cause depression and anxiety
 - D) May lead to cancer of the colon
24. Pollution of our water supplies is
 - A) Is caused by the destruction of the ozone layer
 - B) Is caused by the overuse of pesticides
 - C) Is responsible for the greenhouse effect
 - D) Can reduce the amount of acid rain in the environment.

25. One effect of animal intensive farming methods has been to
- A) Reduce the amount of waste produced by humans
 - B) Speed up natural selection
 - C) Reduce the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere
 - D) Increase the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere leading to the greenhouse effect.
26. In a heterosexual relationship the choice of which method of contraception to use is up to
- A) The man
 - B) The woman
 - C) The doctor
 - D) Both the man and the woman
27. The legal age of consent for sexual activity in heterosexual and homosexual couples is
- A) 16
 - B) 21
 - C) 13
 - D) 18
28. Which of the following is not a sexually transmitted infection
- A) Chlamydia
 - B) Brewers droop
 - C) HIV
 - D) Ghonhorea
29. Which of these substances can you be prosecuted for possessing
- A) Glue
 - B) Cannabis
 - C) Aspirin
 - D) Antibiotics
30. Which of the following would not fit your understanding of the word "culture"
- A) Doing tasks around the house
 - B) Range of ideas and beliefs shared by the people of a country or group
 - C) A way of life
 - D) The practice of going to Church on a Sunday
31. Which of the following might be considered a tradition?
- A) Going to school
 - B) Moving home
 - C) Celebrating a birthday by giving presents
 - D) Watching television
32. Which of the following means "a feeling or influence for or against someone or something; a prejudice"?
- A) Bias
 - B) Objectivity
 - C) Detachment
 - D) Impartiality



The Commonwealth

The Commonwealth is formed of a group of nations most of which are former British colonies.

In the 19th century about 25% of the world's _____ were a part of the British Empire. Australia and Canada became dominions within the empire and gained home rule in the late 19th century. After the 2nd World War, many countries wanted _____ from Britain and the Empire became the Commonwealth. Countries chose whether they wanted to remain in the commonwealth after independence – the Republic of _____ left in 1948.

- Gap 1)** **population/mountains/rivers**
Gap 2) **nothing/presents/independence**
Gap 3) **Africa/Ireland/China**

There are 54 members of the commonwealth – all are former _____ except for Mozambique, that was a Portuguese colony. All recognise the _____ as their head of state.

At first, the commonwealth was used for trade between Britain and other members and for defence alliances. Nowadays, the military links are less important and Britain mainly trades with the EU these days. It is now a forum for discussion and for promoting culture and sport such as the _____.

- Gap 4)** **countries/empires/colonies**
Gap 5) **Queen/Pope/US President**
Gap 6) **FIFA World Cup/Olympic Games/Commonwealth Games**

The heads of state meet every _____ years and discuss issues such as human rights, economic and social development and the environment. The commonwealth is run by the Commonwealth _____ and they decide whether what is decided at the meetings is implemented. They have the power to expel or suspend members and in recent years Pakistan, Nigeria and Zimbabwe have all been suspended for _____ violations.

- Gap 7)** **two/three/five**
Gap 8) **Empire/Secretariat/Company**
Gap 9) **economic/ human rights/environmental**



NATO and the UN

NATO stands for North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, it was formed in 1949 at the start of the _____ War – a time of difficult relations with the former Soviet Union. There are 19 members including the USA, Britain France and German. It is the most powerful _____ alliance in the world and considers tat an attack on one member is an attack on them all. In recent years with the decline of the old Eastern Bloc, old _____ countries such as Poland, and Hungary have joined NATO.

- Gap 1) Cold/Wet/Hot
Gap 2) small/military/friendly
Gap 3) communist/capitalist/warring

In the 1990's NATO troops were involved in _____ keeping duties in Bosnia and were involved in air raids against Serbian troops in Kosovo in 1999. On September 11th _____ (9/11), the acts to atrocities in the USA caused NATO countries to come to the aid of the USA. The alliance nations subsequent campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq has been composed of some NATO members.

- Gap 4) bee/peace/sheep
Gap 5) 2001/2002/2003

The United Nations (UN) was formed in 1945 and is a more successful world body than its predecessor the League of Nations. The UN now meets in _____ and has 191 members. It works to solve disputes between nations, _____ co-operation between countries and protect human rights. It can also punish countries by imposing economic sanctions (stopping a country trading) and send in peace keeping troops. In 1998, it set up the International Criminal _____ to try war criminals and other individuals who have committed crimes against humanity. The UN has also promoted other initiatives such as the Earth Summit in 1992 and world conferences on social development, population and the role of women.

- Gap 6) London/Paris/New York
Gap 7) discourage/encourage/prevent
Gap 8) Court/prison/club

The UK also has a special relationship with _____ that dates back to World War 1; this is helped by having strong trade and cultural links. Recently Britain has aided the USA in the 'War against _____' in both Afghanistan and Iraq.

- Gap 9) the USA/Germany/Russia
Gap 10) Drugs/Terror/Saddam

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